

# IN THESE TIMES

FRONTIER  
WOMEN

Page 13

VOL. 7, NO. 23

MAY 11-17, 1983

\$1.25

The bishops' peace gospel

**P**raise the  
lord and  
ban the  
ammunition

page 5

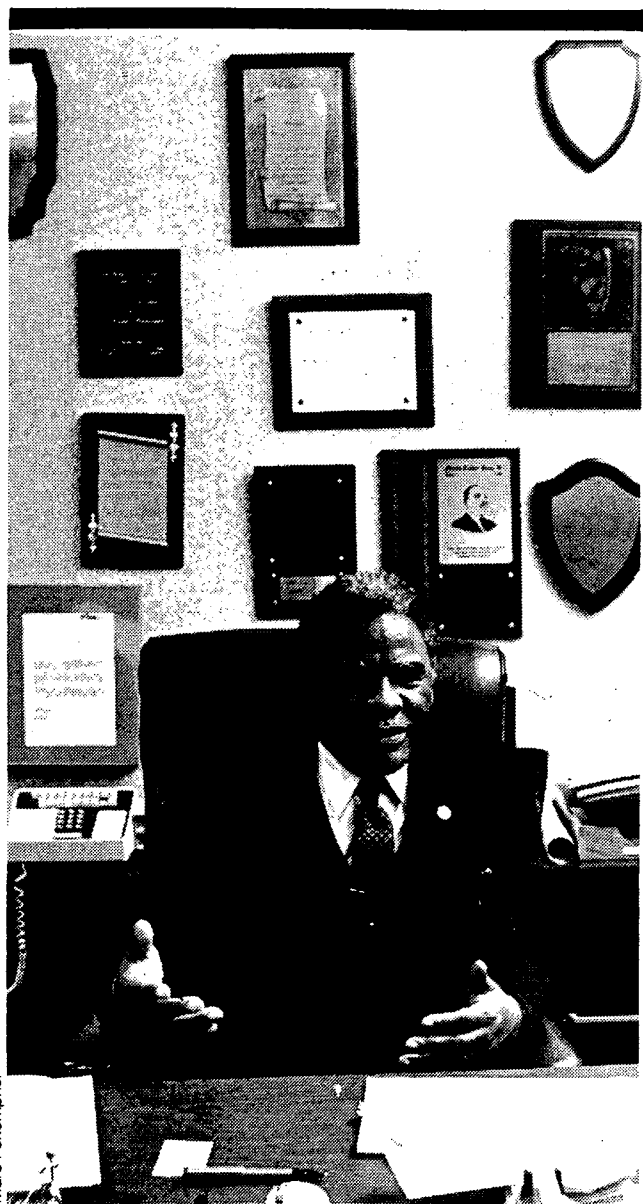
PUBLIC TV MAKES AD-JUSTMENTS

Page 8





# THE INSIDE STORY



Marc P. Karpman

## Washington tangles with machine pols

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

With his first words as mayor of Chicago, Harold Washington made it clear that he was not retreating from the reform program of his campaign. Within three days, the old guard of the City Council made it equally clear that they were going to fight without quarter for their own power and for business as usual.

Beneath whatever working compromise emerges, that struggle will undoubtedly continue during the next four years. Yet the old guard can hold onto its power only through obstructionism and confrontation that would deeply damage the city economically and continue racial polarization. They may be ready to pay that price, but Washington may also be able to convince enough skeptical white voters—and the necessary margin of their representatives—that urban suicide is too much to pay for defense of the prerogatives of the old machine.

In a short, tough speech at his April 30 inauguration in the auditorium at the end of Navy Pier, Washington depicted the city as in a crisis comparable to that after the great fire of 1871. The school system may be \$200 million in the red next year. The public transit system faces its own \$200 million deficit. And Washington's transition team estimated that the city's general fund could run as much as \$150 million short this year out of a \$2 billion budget, roughly half of which is locked into payments for interest, pensions and similar unavoidable items.

Washington called for immediate austerity and cuts. While outgoing Mayor Jane Byrne sat nearby staring ahead icily, he announced that he was freezing city hiring and wages and dismissing the 541 employees that she had added to the payrolls in a last-minute hiring binge. (Byrne tried to add many more and also attempted to switch political appointees into protected civil service slots.) Washington said that he would cut both un-

necessary programs and executive salaries; the next day he slashed his own salary by 20 percent.

Although the city's severe financial problems, exacerbated by Byrne, will hamstring Washington as he attempts to improve city services and stimulate economic development, the austerity budget may give him greater flexibility in eliminating much of the waste built in by machine politics over the years. Court victories by liberal reformers have greatly circumscribed the mayor's powers to fire people for political reasons, but many of the leftover political appointees may be axed for economic reasons or their salaries could be cut so deeply that they will resign. It may be necessary for Washington to exercise such administrative powers in order to create a working majority in the City Council.

The old "evil cabal" of Democratic country chairman Ed Vrdolyak and Alderman Ed Burke—at first Byrne's enemies, then her allies—had an anti-reform movement well underway even as Washington minced no words about replacing the ancient, decrepit machine with a new politics of neighborhood involvement and openness in city government. By the Monday after the inauguration, despite last-minute lobbying efforts by Washington and his allies, Vrdolyak had assembled a majority of the Council behind a package of rules changes that would greatly strengthen the Council's powers to block legislation in committees—setting the stage for more direct Council control over hiring and personnel practices. He also drew up a plan to reorganize the Council: the 20 committees were expanded to 29 so that all of his allies, including freshmen members, were given chairs or top posts. Only three blacks were named committee heads, and Wilson Frost—chair of the finance committee and the leading black machine alderman—was stripped of his powerful position for playing the leading role behind the scenes in trying to organize the council to minimize Vrdolyak's influence.

Sensing that Vrdolyak had the upper hand, the Washington forces played for delay. When the first Council session was convened on May 3, Washington immediately recognized the one white machine politician in his camp, who moved to adjourn. Washington ended the meeting. Then, in the midst of calls for a roll call vote, the Washington bloc walked out. Vrdolyak, the former president pro tem, seized the floor, was elected acting president by the rump session and presided over 29-0 votes in favor of his rules and reorganization. With the exception of the lone Hispanic, a machine appointee, the Vrdolyak bloc was all white. All 16 blacks, the four liberal white reformers and one other white alderman were with Washington.

Some whites on the Council—some newcomers who ousted old machine hacks, some who are loyal to Richard M. Daley or other figures who distrust Vrdolyak—were considered potential Washington allies. And, despite the vote with Vrdolyak, some of them continued to indicate a desire for compromise and a willingness to support Washington. "I'm still not 100 percent in favor of it [the Vrdolyak plan for which he voted]," new member Joseph Kotlarz said later. "I'm very much in favor of a compromise."

Fear of reform motivated most of the Vrdolyak 29, but in the opinion of Council members, others came along out of fear of supporting a black mayor and out of a sense that "Fast Eddie" had the votes and that Washington, if he was truly going to abolish patronage, had little to offer them.

"Vrdolyak took the position some time last week [before the vote] that he was going to take control, and he

wasn't going to talk to anybody," said liberal Alderman Martin Oberman. "He took advantage of racial fears in some of these fellows' wards. He took advantage of a new administration coming in and having a lot of things to worry about besides talking to every alderman. And he put together a majority.... These weighty decisions were not made because of a lack of phone calls. They were made because Vrdolyak and his cronies want to run the city."

Washington could have cut the same deal Byrne did four years ago—but he is apparently determined to fight for reform. "If it was a loss, it may be a loss on good grounds," said reformer Alderman David Orr. "Any mayor could get a victory by paying people's price. But at some point if you've got principles, you have to go down with your ship rather than give up."

Washington has neither given up nor has he gone down irrevocably. He immediately argued that the Council's "rump session" was illegal and its decisions are not binding, and afterward he continued to negotiate for a compromise. He also ordered his new acting comptroller not to issue checks for the new committees, which he estimated would add \$500,000 in costs to the already beleaguered budget. Pushed early into a confrontation that he wanted to delay, Washington now must deal with a more highly polarized Council and a renewal of racial tensions that he hoped to diffuse. But if Vrdolyak has proven he has power, Washington can flex his muscles, too.

In his first day in office, Washington appointed a small core of officials—well balanced between blacks and whites—that include newcomers from outside and a few of the better Byrne administrators. Although the city's bureaucracy is highly politicized—most workers owe loyalty to one or another political boss—Washington could not afford to get rid of many of them, even if he had a free hand. He needs their knowledge of how the city works, even though as his transition team carries on its massive research into the city's past practices, it is reportedly discovering mind-boggling examples of waste, padding and outright corruption.

Even if he cannot and does not want to win Council support by offering jobs, he might be able to win support by agreeing not to dismiss certain friends and relatives of Council members. In the meantime, he is forced to work with a government apparatus that often cannot be trusted. While this infighting continues, part of the Washington campaign staff is beginning to work on a series of "town meetings" to be held throughout the city that will permit Washington to listen to neighborhood desires, establish better direct relationships with each part of the city and begin to mobilize grassroots support for his program.

Other reform elements are also moving to expand their efforts—including the Task Force for Black Political Empowerment, PRO-CAN (Progressive Chicago Area Network) and a new Unity Democratic Congress—put together by Slim Coleman, a long-time white organizer in the poor Uptown neighborhood—that will support Washington and challenge the machine (for example, run delegates for the 1984 Democratic convention).

The struggles for power that marked the primary and general election continue unabated. In order to generate the "spirit of renewal" that Washington called for in his inaugural speech, the new mayor will have to rely on and strengthen what he saw as the key to his recent election—"the greatest grassroots effort in the history of the city."

## IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, second week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by Mid-America Publishing Co., 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60657, (312) 472-5700.

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# IBT Labs' trial reveals faked data

By Keith Schneider

CHICAGO

**T**HE TRIAL OF FOUR TOP OFFICIALS of Industrial Bio-Test Laboratories (IBT), at one time the nation's largest independent chemical testing firm, is underway here, seven years after federal investigators uncovered what they allege is the most massive scientific fraud in U.S. history.

IBT, headquartered in Northbrook, Ill., 25 miles north of Chicago, conducted thousands of research projects during the '70s for almost every major American chemical and drug manufacturer as well as dozens of foreign firms and several federal agencies. Established in 1953, IBT employed 350 people, collected annual revenues close to \$10 million and performed more than 1,500 studies a year in its main Northbrook facility and its two satellite labs. Almost half of IBT's studies were used by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to register a wide array of products, ranging from insecticides and herbicides to pharmaceuticals and food additives.

In May 1981, after a five-year joint FDA/U.S. Justice Department probe, IBT President Dr. Joseph C. Calandra and three of his associates were indicted in Chicago by a special federal grand jury. The four are each charged with eight counts of conducting and distributing fake scientific research and then of attempting to cover up the scheme.

After several postponements, the IBT trial began here on April 4. If convicted on all counts, the officials face up to 40 years in prison and fines totaling more than \$40,000. Federal prosecutors predict the trial may last up to three months.

The four officials claim they are innocent and have hired some of the Midwest's top trial attorneys to defend them. In the months following the indictment, the defendants filed stacks of legal motions seeking dismissal of the charges. They insist that FDA and Justice Department agents "harassed, abused, misled, bullied, intimidated and coerced" key witnesses in order to make their case. Chief FDA investigator Carlton Sharp is accused of "abuse of the grand jury" because he knowingly presented "false, misleading and inflammatory" statements during his two grand jury appearances.

Similar tactics were employed by defense attorneys in two previous cases prosecuted several years ago by U.S. attorneys here. In the first case in 1977, an 11-count indictment was returned against the Velsicol Chemical Company on charges of concealing the fact that two insecticides, chlordane and heptachlor, were proven carcinogens. The case was dismissed in 1979 on procedural grounds.

U.S. attorneys were frustrated once again in 1980 in a case against the G.D. Searle Company, a major pharmaceutical manufacturer. In that case, Chicago prosecutors couldn't gain an indictment. But in the IBT case, the prosecutors successfully answered each motion.

During the trial, prosecutors not only hope to prove the defendants' guilt, but also will outline what they claim is a pattern of chemical company knowledge of the fraudulent research taking place at IBT and in some cases, promotion of those practices by chemical company executives in order to secure the kind of results they knew would pass registration standards at FDA and EPA. Said one Justice Department investigator, "IBT became the largest testing lab in the country because

companies knew this was the place to get the results they wanted."

A primary example, the prosecutors allege, is the case of defendant Paul Wright. Before he joined IBT in March 1971, Wright was employed as a toxicologist by Monsanto Corp. in St. Louis. FDA investigators say Wright went to IBT to manage Monsanto's contract with IBT to test the safety of the company's antibacterial agent TCC, which is widely used in popular deodorant soaps.

TCC was under investigation by the FDA for causing lesions in laboratory rats fed the compound. At that time, Monsanto was counting on TCC as a major product to replace hexachlorophene, another antibacterial that had just been withdrawn from the American market. Monsanto needed a "clean" IBT study to convince the FDA that TCC was safe so the agency would allow increases in the levels of TCC in some deodorant soaps. Wright stayed on IBT's payroll for 18 months, long enough to supervise most of the TCC research. He then returned to Monsanto where he was named manager of toxicology for the department of medicine and environmental health.

While at Monsanto, according to prosecutors and witnesses, Wright wrote

several critical sections of the final TCC summary report and pressured a key IBT scientist into reversing his finding that TCC did, in fact, cause lesions in laboratory rats. The sections Wright authored were included in the IBT summary report mailed to the FDA in 1976. The agency eventually approved raising the levels of TCC in some soaps.

IBT's test of TCC was only one of 22,000 toxicology studies the lab performed in the quarter century it operated. It has been estimated that between 35 to 40 percent of all toxicology tests in the country were conducted by IBT.

Until recently, the details of the joint investigation were untouchable as prosecuting attorneys, defendants and witnesses declined to comment pending the outcome of the case. In December, however, as part of a motion to dismiss the case made by Calandra's attorneys, almost 1,000 pages of secret grand jury testimony and related documents were made public in U.S. District Court. These documents, reinforced by the first days of trial testimony, reveal a disturbing pattern of scientific ethics giving way to business greed. The pages of grand jury testimony are filled with descriptions of employees working in cramped and filthy facilities while massive rodent

deaths went unreported and summary tables were filled with phony numbers. The Justice Department prosecution covers the period between 1970-76 and involves fraudulent research alleged to have been conducted on four compounds: the insecticide Nemacur and the herbicide Sencor produced by Chemagro Corp, now owned by Mobay Chemical Co.; the drug Naprosyn, manufactured by Syntex Corp., to treat arthritis swelling; and Monsanto Corp.'s antibacterial agent TCC.

The government charges:

- Chemagro paid for two 18-month mice studies that IBT actually conducted for only 14 months. Throughout the study, large numbers of mice died and were replaced without being properly documented. The final mortality summary tables for the Nemacur and Sencor reports were faked. Moreover, IBT never fed a known animal carcinogen to a control group of mice in order to make comparisons with the study group. So the results from this study were also faked.
- Syntex Corp. contracted with IBT

*Continued on page 6*

## The rise and fall of IBT

When Joseph Calandra founded IBT in 1953, the 35-year-old graduate of the Northwestern University School of Medicine was a man of high scientific standards who also knew how to make a dollar, according to his colleagues. He knew that a toxicology lab that contracted its services was a growth business for the future since the federal government was gradually increasing the standards required for registration. Manufacturers, pressed to account for the safety of their products, needed firms to prepare the scientific research.

From the start, Calandra had a prize client: the Pentagon. Between 1953 and 1977, in an effort to discover better ways to preserve food for troops during the war, the Pentagon paid IBT more than \$8 million to carry out a long-term study in which irradiated beef was fed to mice and rats.

Throughout the '50s and early '60s, IBT's growth lagged far behind the demand for its services. The lab's reputation circulated quickly through the science and development areas of corporate America: IBT's work was good. It was moderately priced. Most important, it passed examination in Washington.

While its finances were closely guarded, several estimates put IBT's revenues in the mid-'60s at close to \$2 million an-

nually, enough to attract the attention of the officers of Nalco Chemical Co. (1981 revenues: \$666.5 million), a specialty chemicals manufacturer based in Oak Brook. In 1966 Nalco bought IBT from Calandra for a reported \$4.5 million. Calandra remained as president. Backed by Nalco's millions, Calandra began a program of expansion to turn his pioneering lab into America's largest chemical testing firm. Two smaller labs were built. In 1968, construction began on a \$2 million, four-story research building.

During the same period, events in Washington turned a river of business IBT's way. By the end of the '60s, the environmental movement was a powerful force, compelling President Richard Nixon to establish the EPA in 1970. With the agency came publication of dramatically more stringent regulations for pesticide registration and use, requiring a broad range of scientific studies.

IBT thought it was ready for the new business, welcoming its new clients with open arms. But it soon found itself in the position of having much more work than it could handle. Things started to get out of hand.

Take the "mouse hunts." According to Manny Reyna, an animal technician at IBT, the first time he was ordered out on a mouse hunt he thought it was a joke. But it wasn't. Armed with a plastic squeeze bottle filled with chloroform and outfitted in thick gloves and a white lab coat, Reyna found himself joining a squad of technicians in a search-and-destroy mission for rats and mice run-

ning wild at IBT.

Soon after he was hired at IBT in May 1971, Reyna realized that not all the rodents he tended finished their lives in cages. Every week dozens of research mice and rats squeezed through the bent wires of IBT's mangled cages, raced across the long wooden racks and dropped to the grimy floor to breed with rodents living behind tall stacks of animal bedding piled in the corners of the lab's feeding rooms. During the night mice climbed back up on the racks to feed on spilled food and feces, and they persisted in poking their snouts through the bottoms of cages. "For some reason they would cannibalize the toes of animals that were standing on the wire," Reyna testified in his grand jury appearance. "In the morning we would see that the toes had been chewed off. We were at a loss as to what to do. ...It was a never-ending battle."

So the temporary solution was a mouse hunt. For hours the armed squadron would flush rodents from cover and douse them with chloroform as they skittered past.

Reyna had other stories for federal investigators. For example, he said, more than once rats on two-year feeding studies were fed the wrong compound, something IBT never reported to its sponsors.

"We did a large volume of studies," Reyna told the grand jury. "No sooner would one study end than another would start. It seemed that the conditions were just so stressed—doing studies and finishing studies and starting new studies."

—K.S.



# IN SHORT

## Rethinking states' rights

Consumers and environmentalists may soon find an unexpected ally in their battles to prevent President Reagan's assault on federal regulations. American industry, which once thought federal deregulation the answer to all its problems, is having to think again. The *New York Times* reports that as Washington surrenders its regulatory functions, state and local governments are stepping in to fill the vacuum, and the result, some business leaders say, is a developing maze of confusing regulation all over the country. Last year states passed some 4,000 new industry regulations, opening a whole new field of corporate careers—state government relations officers. In one telling instance, the Chemical Manufacturers Association was forced to reverse its opposition to federal labeling standards when 10 states stepped forward to introduce labeling regulations of their own.

It's not all good news for those whom regulations are designed to protect, of course. Even the best intentions of state and local leaders can't make up for lack of funds. The problem with lower-level regulation tends to be an inability to monitor their compliance. And federal flexibility has allowed states that want to court industry relaxing standards to do so, to the economic disadvantage of those that don't. But the general trend toward state regulation shows there's a need—and a constituency—for restrictions on industry, an important lesson for post-Reagan politics.

## Cable firms tune out cities

When it comes to cable television, though, would-be deregulators are going in the opposite direction. On that front, bill S.66 currently before the Senate attacks local communities' right to regulate cable firms. The bill, sponsored by Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) would require that cable franchises be automatically renewed if a firm complied with its previous contract and proposes "reasonable" service for the future. S.66 would also prevent cities from regulating cable rates in areas that receive at least four TV signals, and prohibits them from demanding more than 5 percent of a firm's annual gross revenues. Most controversial is a provision doing away with local access requirements. The National League of Cities supported the bill as a "compromise" with the cable industry, but the U.S. Conference of Mayors is strongly opposed. Citizens groups call the bill "a regulatory bill, not a deregulatory one," because it forces cities and cable companies into the courts if there are disagreements over a firm's contract compliance. The bill passed the Senate Commerce Committee and may squeak through the Senate, but its chances of passing the House are poor—its attack on local access is especially unpopular and sure to be amended.

## California liberation theology

With Catholic bishops ganging up on President Reagan about the nuclear war question, he might be looking for a little support at his home parish in Santa Barbara, Calif. But he won't find it at the Old Mission, where the newly appointed Superior is a Franciscan whose strong human rights background and work in Latin America have made him a harsh critic of Reagan's foreign policy. Father Allan McCoy, who was with Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero on the day he was murdered, says U.S. aid to the rightist government in El Salvador amounts to supporting "genocide." In an interview with the *Santa Barbara News & Review* McCoy endorses liberation theology, the co-existence of socialism and Christianity and defends Nicaragua's much-maligned Sandinistas. Blaming U.S. intervention in Central America on "the multinationals: a misnomer—in reality they are American or American-controlled," McCoy disagrees with those within and outside the Church who argue priests should not mix in politics: "Of course you must stand up to evil. When the nation you are a part of is doing terrible things, you can't resign from the human race."

Although Reagan, a Protestant, will probably never worship there, the historic Mission is as much a social institution as a religious one in a city mindful of its Spanish heritage. And with the presidential press corps looking for stories and local "color" on their jaunts to the Western White House, Father McCoy's Old Mission is bound to become more than just a tourist stop on their agenda.

## Nuclear family fun

Remember how to duck and cover? It's time to brush up—the Saratoga Peace alliance is sponsoring the first Civil Defense Olympics September 24. Teams will include four family members—Mom, Dad, Buddy and Sis—participating in events like Spare Door and Shovel Carrying, Automobile Packing Contests and, of course, Duck and Cover Drills. Olympics organizers say they're trying to attract national entertainers and participants from around the country to make the event "a family day, something everyone can be a part of—just like nuclear war."

—Joan Walsh



## U.S. Steel gets tea, no sympathy from union

CHICAGO—Barely a month after the United Steelworkers of America (USW) exchanged \$3 billion in contract concessions for industry reinvestment promises, the U.S. Steel Corporation announced a joint venture with British Steel to import raw slab steel from Britain and eliminate 3,000 American jobs. If the firm was hoping the union wouldn't notice the contradiction, the move was poorly timed.

With union members just starting to feel the minimum \$200 per month wage cut the March 1 contract provided, the USW is challenging the British Steel agreement before the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), Congress and even U.S. Steel investors. Two hundred USW members, many of them unemployed, picketed the U.S. Steel shareholders meeting at Chicago's Westin Hotel on May 2, presenting the firm with the Benedict Arnold Award and handing out teabags symbolizing the union's international trade policy—imported British tea is fine, but steel is not.

The U.S. Steel-British Steel venture calls for importing raw slabs from the Ravenscraig plant in Scotland and finishing them at U.S. Steel's Fairless Works plant in Pennsylvania. Steel production would be phased out at Fairless, and Ravenscraig would lose its finishing facilities. The arrangement would put thousands of British steelworkers out of work as well.

Jack Parton, president of USW District 31 and organizer of the shareholders' demonstration, said the union would fight the British Steel arrangement "with every legal and contractual means at our disposal." The union has filed complaints with the FTC and plans to bring charges of unfair labor practices and import law violations against U.S. Steel. Legislation already introduced by U.S. Rep. Peter Kostmayer (R-Pa.) would halt the agreement altogether.

But some union members believe that while legal challenges could slow the deal, they can't stop it. Although U.S. trade laws place restrictions on the importation of subsidized foreign products, state-owned British Steel will likely get around the restrictions because its Ravenscraig operation is privately owned. "You can't pass laws against im-

ports," said Joe Samargia, president of USW Local 1938 in Minnesota. Samargia agrees with Local 6787 President Dave Sullivan, who says labor's best strategy may be "not to unload the boats if they bring that steel over, and not to roll it either."

The British Steel agreement is particularly galling to USW leaders because it was reportedly brought up at the bargaining table by U.S. Steel negotiator Bruce Johnston last November. After the deal was announced, USW President Lloyd McBride said he had believed it was a bargaining device that the firm would abandon in exchange for union concessions. But some local presidents' wrath isn't reserved for U.S. Steel—they're angry that McBride and the USW Executive Board didn't publicize the British Steel threat or make its rejection part of the 1983 contract.

Inside the shareholders' meeting, U.S. Steel Chair David Roderick told USW officials who addressed the gathering that the firm has not made a final decision on the British Steel agreement. But Roderick later told reporters that if the economic outlook continues to be promising for both firms, the venture will

## Kirkpatrick refuses award

NEW YORK—A Barnard College demonstration scheduled to protest awarding UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick the college's Medal of Distinction became a victory celebration May 3, after Kirkpatrick, citing Barnard opposition, declined the honor.

In a letter to Barnard President Ellen Futter, Kirkpatrick said she would acknowledge the community's sentiments and refuse the award. "As a faculty member myself, I feel deeply that a university...is defined by its faculty and students," she wrote. A similar letter to Smith College officials announced Kirkpatrick's intent to decline a controversial award there as well.

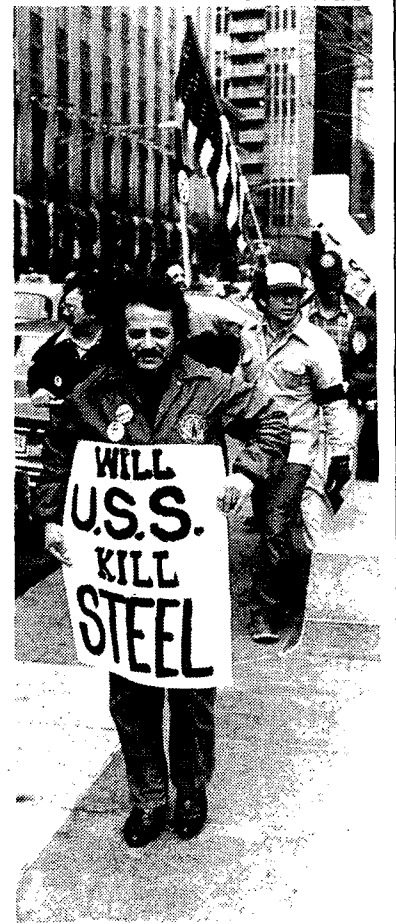
Late last month the Barnard community learned that the college's Board of Trustees had decided to present the medal to Kirkpatrick, citing Barnard op-

proceed. He maintains that without the deal, U.S. Steel may be forced to close Fairless Works, its newest facility, throwing 5,000 employees there out of work.

Although the agreement marks the first time an American steel corporation has set up a mechanism for continuing foreign participation in the industry, a trend toward importing steel has become evident and controversial, with U.S. Steel in the forefront. A deal to purchase Korean steel for a Seattle construction project nearly upset USW contract negotiations last fall. And just after closing its Torrance, Calif., mill in 1980, the company purchased 300,000 tons of specialty steel—once produced in Torrance—from Japan.

"They've been importing since the 1980 contract negotiations," said Alice Peurala, former president of USW Local 65. "The only difference with this deal is that it followed the March 1 contract, when union members were fooled into believing that concessions would save their jobs. People just got mad."

—Joan Walsh



ceremonies May 17. At a subsequent faculty meeting professors voted 48 to 18 against the award, and a student petition collected 1,000 signatures in half a day. Kirkpatrick had reportedly made accepting the award in person conditional upon the college's ability to prevent the kind of protests that have marked her appearances at the Universities of California and Minnesota this spring. But her decision to decline the award altogether came as a surprise.

The official Barnard College response to Kirkpatrick's decision was a veiled rebuke to dissenters. "This occasion highlights the profound need at institutions of higher learning...for tolerance," the statement read. Barnard's awards go to a "broad spectrum" of prominent individuals, it said, pointing out that civil rights leader Vernon Jordan and New York Governor Mario Cuomo, a liberal Democrat, will be honored at the commencement ceremonies that were to have included Kirkpatrick.

—Maia Wechsler



## ARMS RACE



On May 3, Catholics for Peace demonstrated outside of Chicago's Palmer House hotel in support of the bishops' pastoral letter.

# Catholic bishops are converted to disarmament

By Robert McClory

CHICAGO

**A**PPROVAL BY THE U.S. CATHOLIC bishops on May 3 of their pastoral letter on war and peace represents for the hierarchy a decisive emergence from the relative security of strictly religious matters into the threatening world of secular affairs: arms control, international relations and strategic deterrence.

That some of the bishops came out of the May 2-3 meeting at the Palmer House hotel here ruffled, if not bleeding, should not be a surprise. The letter—approved by an overwhelming 238 to nine vote—means that the American bishops for the first time in history are now officially at loggerheads with the defense policies of their government. It also means that the institutional leaders of the country's 51 million Catholics hold some strong, controversial convictions—convictions with which many of their followers do not agree. Among them:

- The U.S. and USSR should seek "immediate, bilateral, verifiable agreements to halt the testing, production and deployment of new nuclear weapons systems."
- First use of nuclear weapons to counter a conventional attack is "morally unjustifiable."
- Under no circumstances may nuclear weapons be used to destroy population centers, even in retaliation for an enemy attack on U.S. population centers.
- A "comprehensive test ban treaty" should be negotiated as quickly as possible.
- A policy of deterrence is acceptable only as a step on the way toward progressive disarmament.

Although the final document of more than 44,000 words is somewhat subdued in tone compared with the hard-hitting second draft (which came extremely close to condemning even the possession of nu-

clear weapons), it is nevertheless a powerful indictment of U.S. strategy and a call to Catholics to resist the direction in which many national political leaders are moving. As a result of the many amendments approved during the Chicago meeting, it is also a much stronger letter than the third draft, which had led many to believe the bishops were prepared to retreat from a confrontation with the Reagan administration.

That this was not to be a timid statement was made clear at the outset of the meeting when the bishops debated whether to recommend a "curb" or a "halt" on the testing, deployment and production of nuclear weapons systems. The second draft, released last November, used the word "halt." But the five-member planning committee, chaired by Chicago's Cardinal Joseph Bernardin, substituted the more moderate "curb" in the third draft.

This was done partly because of pressure from European bishops and Vatican officials who met with the Bernardin committee in January and argued that a

## The U.S. bishops' pastoral letter on war and peace has, for the first time, put them officially at loggerheads with the defense policies of their government.

halt would leave Western Europe at the mercy of Soviet aggression. A few American bishops also protested that "halt" was a code word of the nuclear freeze movement and therefore should be omitted. In addition, a battery of staff level Reagan administration figures, including Joseph Lehman, chief spokesman for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, met with the committee and pushed for several substantial modifications. When "curb" appeared in the third draft publicized on April 1, there was a loud outcry, some groups urging "cease" as a compromise word.

But when the vote was taken at the Chicago hotel, "halt" was re-enthroned as the acceptable expression, with only about 10 bishops dissenting. The nearly unanimous adoption seemed to indicate the bishops resented manipulation by outside parties. That vote set the tone for the whole meeting.

Hawkish bishops seeking accommodation with administration views were forced to fight a rear-guard action, losing

vote after vote on the amendments as strong language was substituted for weak. The most outspoken dissident was Archbishop Philip Hannan of New Orleans, a one-time Army chaplain. He became so frustrated at one point he lashed out at his colleagues, "You don't have the faintest idea of what you're talking about unless you've been in war."

Later he argued in vain that a munitions factory in the midst of a populous city should be considered a legitimate object for a nuclear strike in wartime. To exempt such targets, he said, "invalidates the Just War theory" and would have led the U.S. to certain defeat in World War II.

Hawkish amendments were also introduced repeatedly by Cardinal Terence Cooke of New York, vicar for the military ordinariate, and his two auxiliary bishops, who became known among the newspeople covering the event as "the New York gang." They failed to turn or even stem the tide.

There are three reasons for this departure from the American hierarchy's engrained instinct to give a wide berth to matters of national policy. First, the leadership among the bishops is now firmly in the hands of more progressive churchmen like Archbishop John Roach, Bernardin and Archbishop John Quinn of San Francisco. Almost all the progressives were made bishops during the '60s and early '70s, when Archbishop Jean Jadot was the papal delegate to the U.S.

By his influence in Rome and his selection of liberal-oriented priests, Jadot, an appointee and confidant of Pope John XXIII, is more responsible than anyone for the attitudinal shift in the American hierarchy. The old leaders like Cardinal John Krol of Philadelphia and Hannan remain vocal and visible, but they do not set the tone as they once did. Jadot was also responsible for the elevation to the episcopacy of such men as Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit, Raymond Hunthausen of Seattle and Bishop Leroy Matthiesen of Amarillo, Tex.—who together have created an almost radical but highly influential peace bloc among the other bishops.

Second, the Catholic bishops as a body are now extremely well informed about the arms race and its moral implications. They have been grappling with it as "the supreme moral issue of our time" since July 1982, and many have achieved a sophistication on the subject that enables them to speak with some authority. This

*Continued on the following page*





Continued from previous page  
was clear during the debate on amendments. For the most part, the bishops accepted or rejected them on the basis of recommendations from Bernardin's committee. But in a few instances they displayed independent judgment, such as when they decided the use of nuclear force to repel a conventional military attack is "morally unjustifiable" in place of the recommended but weaker wording, "an unjustifiable moral risk."

Third, the bishops are clearly enjoying the influence they seem to be exercising on national opinion. No longer representatives of a fearful immigrant church, they are talking to the larger society with confidence. The massive media coverage for the Chicago meeting (more than 400 reporters, photographers and camera crews) seemed to embolden even older bishops who are used to carrying out their deliberations in relative privacy. Several admitted they were moved by the prayers and support of lay Catholics, some 1,500 of whom marched through a driving rain the day before the meeting to indicate their hope for a decisive statement.

What happens now? One unanswered question is how much authority the document has or should have. Conservatives like Hannan and Bishop Patrick Ahern of New York kept insisting that clear distinctions should be made between those parts that represent "universal church teaching" and are binding on all Catholics, and those parts that represent "spe-

cific applications" or "prudential judgments" and are subject to legitimate disagreement. Hannan claimed the letter's failure to make such distinctions will divide and confuse Catholics, and he declared he will not promulgate it in his diocese. No other bishops publicly took such an extreme stand.

A coalition of conservative Catholics also denounced the letter's thrust, saying that "the bishops have added to the confusion and perplexity of Catholic Americans." Several held a sign outside the meeting room reading, "The Kremlin smiles when the bishops talk peace." But peace organizations like Clergy and Laity Concerned rejoiced after the final vote, claiming that "the largest religious body in the U.S. is now on the side of the nuclear freeze movement."

As newpeople tried to get a handle on the document's moral weight, conservative bishops generally tended to see the letter as almost entirely "prudential judgment," while liberals stressed that it is mostly "universal moral teaching." Archbishop Oscar Lipscomb of Mobile, Ala., went so far as to state that people who disagree with the general principles enunciated in the letter cannot call themselves Catholic.

Also unresolved is how the Reagan administration will take it all. Clearly, the president does not want a confrontation with Catholics, yet the dictums of the pastoral letter cannot possibly be reconciled with U.S. policy. And while the ramifications are being felt throughout the nation, the U.S. bishops will be gearing up

for yet another foray into the secular sphere, which could be even more controversial. Under the direction of a committee headed by Archbishop Rembert Weakland of Milwaukee, a pastoral letter on capitalism is being prepared for consideration and debate in 1984. Thus strong criticisms of nuclear policy may be followed by a stinging indictment of the economic policies at the root of the international nuclear conflict.

The transformation of American Catholicism into a Peace and Poor Church may be just beginning. Noted Arthur Jones of the *National Catholic Reporter* at the conclusion of the meeting, "On the strength of the bishops' ability to stand the heat on the antinuclear issue, the poor have reason to hope for new initiatives in world justice and a new economic order."

Robert McClory writes for the *National Catholic Reporter* and the *Chicago Reader*.

## IBT

Continued from page 3

for an 18-month rat study that IBT allowed to continue for four extra months. A critical section of the final report listing detailed blood and urine figures was faked. IBT also included an appendix to the report that listed complete autopsy and microscopic tissue analysis results. IBT scientists and technicians never con-

ducted the examinations.

• Moisant Corp. contracted with IBT for a 24-month rat feeding study on TCC. During the course of the study, hundreds of rats died without being properly documented. Yet IBT reported in its summary report that these rats finished their natural life spans and had been autopsied and microscopically examined. So many rats died during the study that IBT was forced to establish an extra set of animals to use as replacements. IBT called these animals the "research study group." Dr. Donovan Gordan, IBT's pathologist, was repeatedly pressured by Paul Wright and by IBT president Dr. Joseph Calandra to change his diagnosis that TCC caused dangerous lesions in rats fed the compound.

No matter the outcome of the trial, the IBT scandal leaves a legacy of falsified records and botched experiments. Each day most Americans contact chemicals, chiefly from pesticide residues contained in their food and water, IBT tested and found "non-hazardous." Since the IBT scandal was first reported, some chemicals have been declared by federal agencies to be harmful to human health and the environment. Many others are accused by researchers across the country of causing serious illnesses and environmental contamination.

In 1979, pathologists at the FDA, the EPA and in Canada and Sweden began an immense and complex program of auditing IBT studies. They have determined that more than 10,000 IBT studies were used to register products for the American market, and they consider 2,000 of these primary research; without these studies, the products would not have been registered. Most of these were for 325 insecticides and herbicides. American and Canadian scientists have called the vast majority of these studies "invalid." The manufacturers of the chemicals have been asked to repeat the studies, and the results for most will not be ready for review until 1985.

On this continent and in Europe, health authorities have begun to take regulatory action against chemicals registered with IBT data. Sweden recently outlawed eight IBT pesticides. Last year, after studying data on 113 pesticides, Canada outlawed six and severely restricted application of the fungicide captan.

The EPA's final report on 212 more pesticides registered with IBT data is due to be released this month or in June, according to Kevin Keany, an official with the Office of Pesticide Programs. And the EPA has suspended the use of the herbicide silvex (1979) and cancelled most uses of the insecticides DBCP (1979) and toxaphene (1982), which have been shown to be dangerous to human health and the environment. All three were registered with extensive IBT data that found them "safe."

Keith Schneider is editor of *SC Featured*, an independent news service based in Charleston, S.C. This article is excerpted from the spring issue of *The Amicus Journal*. Research was funded by a grant from the Fund for Investigative Journalism.

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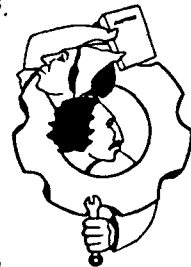
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*Austria's Bruno Kreisky played a key role in North-South relations.*

experience in dealing with the Russians remains valuable to Germans who are increasingly envious of the Austrian solution.

Ornery, shrewd and outspoken, Kreisky once advised French journalist Mark Blaise never to believe what men in power say, but only to analyze what they do. "Everyone is lying," said Kreisky. "The truth, the real decisions are to be found behind closed doors where journalists are kept out. Everyone is manipulating everyone else and that is what makes politics so fascinating and dangerous at the same time."

#### The return of Soares.

And now we come to Mario Soares, who with 36.2 percent of the vote is being elevated to the head of a coalition government with the fairly right-wing Social Democratic Party. The amiable Soares began his career as Portugal's Socialist leader right after the April 1974 revolution, thanks to the sponsorship of the German Social Democratic Party. In those days, he often spoke of revolution and the evils of capitalism. Yet the Portuguese Socialist Party failed to make any headway in breaking the Communist Party's grip on the labor movement, and it remains the party of the vaguely well-intentioned middle class.

Soares' first stint in office was a flop, and the smart money turned to dynamic center-right leader Francisco Sa Carneiro, who after a year as prime minister was killed in an air crash in December 1980. Deprived of its natural leader, the task of modernizing capitalism has fallen back on Soares—at least for the moment.

Meanwhile, Soares abandoned German for American patronage. The warm reception he got in Washington last February was understood to be his consecration as the Reagan administration's official candidate. Soares reportedly agreed to extend U.S. military facilities in the Azores and also to take the Beja base south of Lisbon back from the West Germans and turn it over to the Americans. Soares is supposed to appoint Azores Socialist Party member Jaime Gama as defense minister in charge of transforming Portugal's Atlantic islands into stepping stones for intervention in Africa by a rapid deployment force.

## Mario Soares was Reagan's favored candidate in Portugal... Austria has Europe's best economic record, yet Bruno Kreisky didn't get a majority.

East and West. In his retirement home in Majorca, he will no doubt continue to try to play an international role, but his flair for compromise has been finding few takers recently. After returning from wartime exile in Sweden, Kreisky took part in the negotiations leading up to the 1955 treaty that gave Austria its unity and independence in return for neutrality. His

This fits in with the Pentagon's new strategy of fragmenting NATO by developing bilateral deals—especially with Mediterranean countries—for policing operations outside the NATO treaty area, in Africa and the Mideast. Soares' membership in the Socialist International may be used to provide ideological cover for the new Portuguese mobile intervention force of paratroopers, marines and commandos.

In return for these favors, the Portuguese are counting on American economic and financial aid to help them out of their disastrous indebtedness, plus U.S. pressure to help them get into the Common Market.

Soares is possibly being set up as a fall guy. These compromising deals, plus the obligatory economic austerity measures to go with them, are not likely to garner him much popular support within Portugal. The Communist Party, which under the old-line leadership of Alvaro Cunhal has held its strength in the unions and at the polls (18.5 percent in the latest elections), will probably lead worker resistance.

The middle classes are feeling the economic squeeze and are politically disoriented. Observers predict that a few months of soft Soares will be followed by the rise of a strong man—perhaps the current president, General Ramalho Eanes, who seems to be waiting in the wings for better days.



### EUROPE

# Tale of two socialist parties

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

IN JUST TWO DAYS IN APRIL, A Socialist Party lost its absolute majority in Austria and Chancellor Bruno Kreisky stepped down, while another Socialist Party won office in Portugal and Mario Soares moved in to head the new coalition government. But the words "socialist party" can cover very different realities. Mario Soares in return for Bruno Kreisky is an exchange about as equal as, say, trading a Viennese fox for a Portuguese jellyfish.

The Austrian Socialist Party has a rich cultural tradition (including the "Austro-Marxism" of the inter-war period), solid roots in organized labor and a wealth of government experience. In comparison, the Portuguese Socialist Party hardly exists. The Austrian party is the strong left in a deeply conservative, prosperous country, while the Portuguese party is a weak chameleon in a poor country that has been rhetorically on the left since the 1974 revolution but is now disenchanted with politics and unsure of itself.

But in both countries, the elections were felt as largely irrelevant to major problems. Both reflect a certain discouragement—a sense of helplessness.

In Austria, the Social Democrats still came in first, capturing 48 percent of the vote. But this was considered a big setback for a ruling party whose record on the twin problems of inflation and unemployment is the best in Europe. When the votes had been counted, Kreisky announced he was retiring at 72. Kreisky's failing kidneys may have been a decisive issue in the voting.

Like Kreisky himself, the Austrian model was beginning to look worn out—especially when the government lost respectability in the wake of a hospital construction corruption scandal.

More fundamentally, the long world recession is finally beginning to undermine even the Austrian model. The Austrian welfare state has long been subsidized by the largest nationalized sector in non-Communist Europe. The nationalized industries export about a third of their products, accounting for about a

fifth of Austria's sales abroad. But foreign markets are shrinking. Hardest hit is the steel industry, the largest in Austria's public sector. To preserve jobs, the Social Democrats have kept the steel industry running at a loss. From 1976 to 1981, the steel industry soaked up 8.5 billion schillings in subsidies while bringing in only 10 million to the treasury.

For the unions, the nationalized industries have long been considered the model in wages, benefits and job security. But recently the benefits extended to state employees have been denounced as expensive privileges that are unfair to taxpayers and ruinous to the public budget.

Having lost their absolute majority, the Social Democrats will likely govern in coalition with the Freedom Party, a free enterprise party considered to the right of the West German Free Democrats, who last year brought down Helmut Schmidt in West Germany.

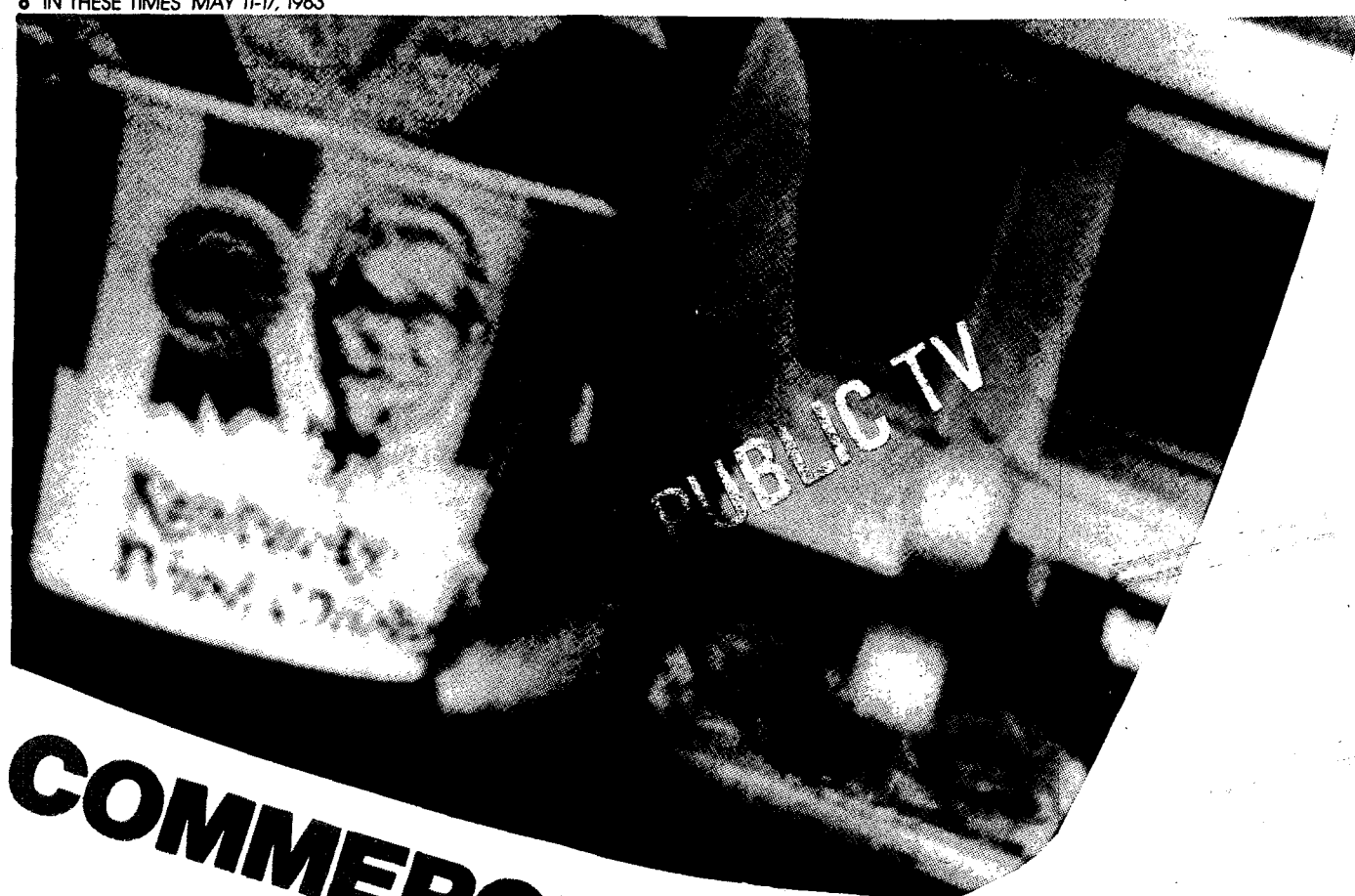
#### Greens have effect.

The end of the Social Democratic era in Austria cannot be ascribed to the rise of the ecological Greens, who did not do as

Mario Soares







# COMMERCIALIZATION

THE NEW ENTREPRENEURIALISM has come to public TV, with an ingenuity that would make the crustiest Yankee proud. The genteel folks in public broadcasting used to beg, borrow, cajole and wheedle—from viewers, corporations and foundations—the 30 percent of the budget that doesn't come out of the public pocket. That's worked, and it still does. Corporate contributions took a record leap upward last year, and subscriber dollars are up a record 13.6 percent in one year too (although the total number of subscribers is down). Public TV is also pulling in more viewers than ever before, and can now count on an average of 5 percent of the viewing public in a month.

But what those viewers get when they tune in may have a great deal to do with the beggar-turned-businessman transformation in public TV's inner offices. And that is leading some people to ask where the public in public TV went.

There are three ways that public TV is becoming more businesslike. One is "enterprise groups," which has become the phrase of the day. They are the departments at many public TV stations that brainstorm for-profit strategies within their nonprofit outfits. Some simply involve renting or retailing services the stations already have. For instance, some stations offer nighttime use of their video recording facilities to commercial stations. But leasing facilities, says John Ford, a planning associate at the National Association of Public Television Stations (NAPTS), "is spare change. You're providing five dollar answers to million dollar problems." Still, some of the five dollar solutions are a little startling. According to *Access* magazine, WJCT-TV in Jacksonville, Fla., has gotten a license to sell liquor at public events. "It's not just an educational TV station anymore," said the president of the station.

More important is the burst of production and co-production deals with the private sector. WCET (Cincinnati) has made commercials on contract, using public staff and facilities. Some stations want to offer a pay-TV service on a second channel, or even to first offer their own programming on a pay basis, then show it for the public audience as reruns. They are also scrambling for joint deals with pay-TV services, to minimize capitalization costs. And last month the FCC finally permitted public TV stations to offer teletext services on a for-profit basis. (Teletext is transmitted on the bar between the 525 lines on the

screen, and requires a decoder.) So this month PBS and Merrill Lynch are joining together to offer business teletext services to Merrill Lynch's account executives and clients in New York, Chicago and Miami.

A strategy with more potential is co-production. PBS and Columbia Pictures, for instance, have struck a deal to co-produce and distribute shows. They plan to make music specials, series and low-budget movies; typically, the shows would air first on pay TV, then on public TV. The part of the public TV audience that overlaps with cable and pay-TV's upscale viewership will benefit; as Columbia executive Tony Lynn told *Current* magazine, "The primary thing we're working on is creation of original programming that will work for my pay-TV market and PBS." PBS viewers may also get to see some of Columbia's more "special product," like the movie *Tess*.

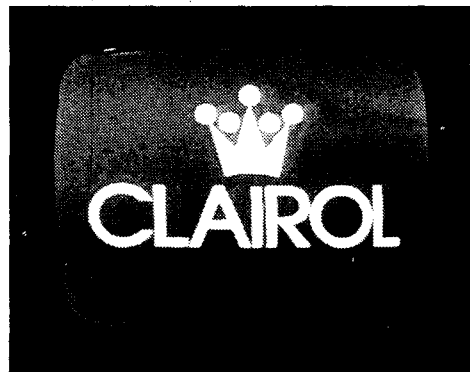
Individual stations too are striking such deals—with cable, syndication and pay-TV. Chicago's WTTW enterprise group, for instance, does a brisk business in selling to cable firms shows such as *Music America Live*. These are live concert telecasts that share producers and facilities with the non-profit production *Soundstage*, but which are aimed at a more commercial market. WTTW is also making kids' shows for the Disney studio. In Pittsburgh, WQEC has been successful in international sales of its *National Geographic* specials, as well as concerts and documentaries. In Cincinnati, WCET's enterprise group has made a one-hour show on antique autos. KQED in San Francisco is still working out a marketable format for a half-hour quiz show.

## Tried-and-true TV.

The final way that public TV is breaking through to profit is tried-and-true: commercials. Nine TV stations have been experimenting for the last few months with selling advertising, although two of them only allow "enhanced underwriting"—a more general message. On New York's WNET, ads for Gucci, Piper Heidsieck, Chemical Bank and E.F. Hutton now appear; Clairol has placed commercials on all nine stations. Sales seem to be going well, in the face of early concern by some stations that they might lose viewers without gaining ad dollars. The most successful station, WTTW, is talking about grossing \$1.5 million in 1982-83. The trial has gone so well, in fact, that NAPTS estimates the commercials' revenues could add a free-and-clear 10 to 15 percent to

stations' budgets.

These entrepreneurial gambits are working better than many people expected, especially those who saw the advent of cultural cable programming as a death knell to stuffy old PBS. But CBS Cable, an arts-and-culture channel, folded after only a year, and both ABC's ARTS chan-



Photographs by Paul Comstock

nel and the Entertainment Channel have put their prospects on hold. So public TV is laying sole claim to an upscale chunk of the American TV viewing public—a very tempting market for designer clothiers, champagne makers and stockbrokers. The ad director of Chemical Bank told the *New York Times*, "We're delighted" about placement of ads on *Wall Street Week*. "The audience suits us to a T."

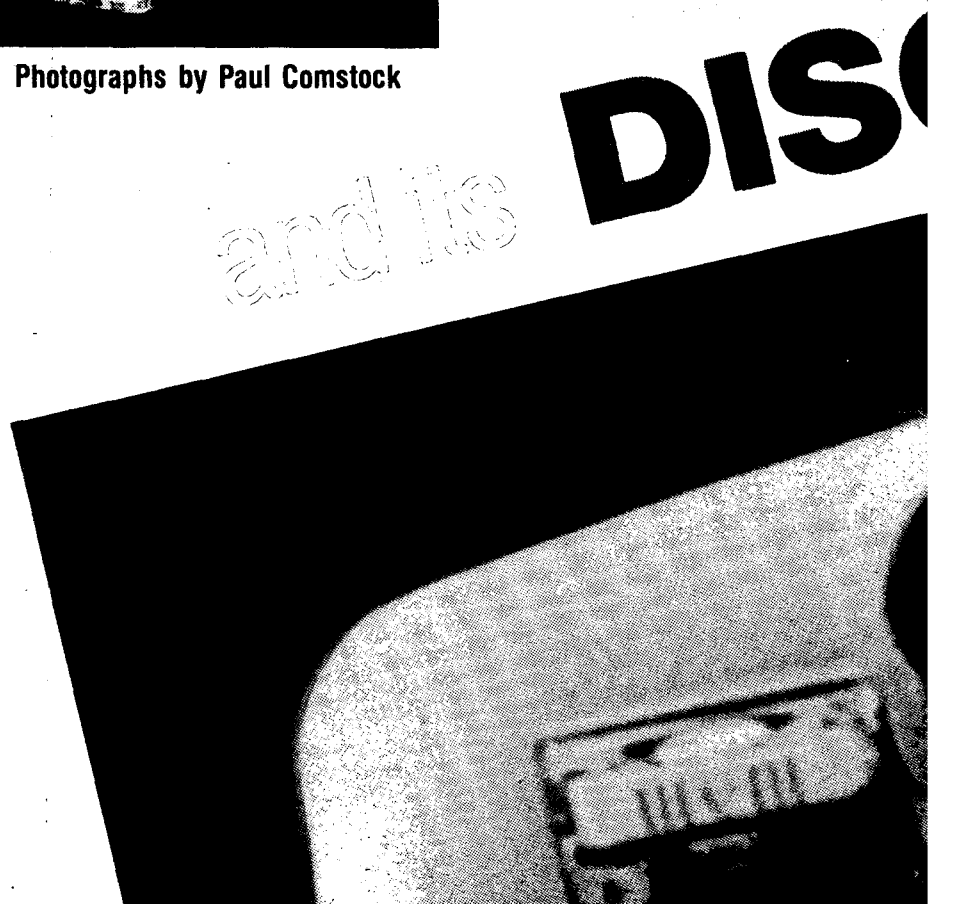
True, not all the new business schemes have panned out. WNET invested heavily in *The Dial*, a for-subscribers free magazine carrying advertising. But the magazine has not gotten enough ads to make up for the millions it cost. In fact, WNET suffered the humiliation of trying to sell the thing, only to have the buyers—a company that also owns *Oui*—back out in a flurry of media criticism. And KCEI had so much trouble trying to sell off its studio facility—the recession didn't make the real estate market congenial—that it has taken the property off the market.

And then there's the decline and fall of free-marketeer *par excellence* Robert Chitester at Erie, Pa.'s WQLN. Chitester, founder and president of Erie's public TV station, had always itched to get loose from government funding and its accompanying strictures. His station produced *Free to Choose*, a highly-popular series by conservative economist Milton Friedman. With that success to bank on, he set up Penn Communications, a for-profit subsidiary, to distribute *Free to Choose* and other programs. He also set up a non-profit subsidiary, Amagin, to make more shows. WQLN's parent corporation then loaned the two of them \$700,000. But later programs weren't nearly the success that *Free to Choose* had been. Amagin lost money and didn't deliver the goods to Penn. Penn's liabilities are now twice its assets. Chitester has resigned as president of the station, and WQLN's viewers are falling away.

## Ominous success.

Still, with any new business strategy you have to expect setbacks. The successes are in some ways more ominous, because commercial priorities take precedence over noncommercial ones. For instance, selling shows and co-producing them with commercial enterprises means thinking first of the bottom line. As the head of KQED's enterprise group told *Advertising Age*, "The marketplace is different once you have to sell. Commercial TV has to live on ratings." And so you get antique auto shows, pop stars in concert and quiz shows. People may like it, especially in contrast to other fare on the networks, but is it an alternative?

Take the case of the new Julia Child cooking show. It's produced by a public TV station, WGBH, but the guiding principles of its development all lie in the





commercial arena. To make the show more appealing to an upper-middle-class audience, new segments will add brief appearances by a guest winemaker and a guest chef, and will show Child presenting the food in elegant surroundings at the end of the show. Polaroid is bankrolling the new production with a million dollar grant.

Polaroid will get more than a genteel murmur of appreciation—more even than a bit of “enhanced underwriting”—for its money. WGBH is making 40 one-minute-long how-to spots (“how to sharpen a knife,” for instance) pulled out of the show. It will give those spots to Polaroid free, and in turn Polaroid will offer them to local commercial stations to use as soft-news items, in trade for ad spots.

The Julia Child swap strategy is being heralded as a burst of ingenuity, and indeed its intricacy and cleverness takes it beyond Yankee ingenuity and puts it up there with Jesuitical casuistry.

But public TV's pursuit of profit is hardly a natural expression of a sudden found belief in free-marketteering. Public TV administrators have been driven into new business strategies by harsh realities.

The Reagan administration is deeply hostile to public funding of public broadcasting. In 1981 the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) lost a major battle when the administration won a congressional fight to cut back 1983 funding for CPB, in spite of the fact that its funding had already been approved two years in advance. (That advance funding was a safeguard instituted after the Nixon administration got embroiled in a scandal by trying to defang public affairs programming with threatened budget cuts.)

The chickens have come home to roost right in CPB's budget offices. The 1983 budget was cut by 20 percent. Although the 1984 budget has been increased, it still rests at a bare minimum—\$130 million—that will only sustain the system at austerity levels.

Public TV doesn't get much public money anyway. For instance, in 1983 all of public broadcasting—TV and radio together—got less than the allocation for military bands. And Reagan's proposed 1984 budget increased the military bands' budget by 9 percent. (A Pentagon spokesperson told the *Washington Post*, “Inflation was to blame for the increased costs of martial music.”) CPB gets \$22 million to produce national TV programs for a year. In contrast, the Pentagon's public relations department alone will spend \$30 million this year merely to buff the public image of defense.

It's all a far cry from how the Carnegie Commission saw public TV in 1967: “We recognize that commercial television is obliged for the most part to search for the uniformities within the general public, and to apply its skills to the uniformities it has found. Somehow we must seek out the diversities as well, and meet them, too, with the full body of skills necessary for their satisfaction.”

### Free speech safeguard.

The Commission's notion of diversity was not rooted in the desire for quality entertainment, but in the concept of pluralism as a safeguard of freedom of speech. Freedom of speech as fundamental to democracy is a vision that animates such public interest advocates as Sam Simon of Telecommunications Research and Action Center, who says, “Diversity is a democratic principle. It's hard to ask somebody, ‘What would happen to your life if you didn't have access to a different idea?’ The answer would probably be ‘Nothing.’ But there would be dire consequences for the society.”

“Nobody from our point of view was ever happy with the amount of access on public TV,” Simon continues. “But Reagan's policies are forcing people to think more commercially and to focus on blockbuster programming. A publicly supported system ought to be more investigative, aggressive, experimental—why, there isn't even a consumer show on public TV. When Nader-type groups have suggested it, we've run into public TV people's concern for advertiser support.”

By Pat Aufderheide



Other critics object to the trend toward mass-appeal entertainment programming from an aesthetic viewpoint. In an ascerbic column in the *Village Voice*, Tom Carson suggested that what PBS really offers these days is “moral superiority.” “PBS,” he wrote, “just puts on programs that are more tasteful, equating good taste with good manners when most good art contravenes good manners. Their definition of quality is no different from the commercial networks’—production values, ‘serious’ themes, refined sentiments.”

“The public” has not been eloquent in its demands for programming that reflects and fosters debate on the public issues of the day, or that displays artistic work challenging the safely tasteful. In fact, one of the most regular voices in defense of the public interest on public TV is a special interest group: the Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers (AIVF), a group that depends on public TV as the only wide-range outlet for their products. Bob Richter, chair of AIVF's

board and a veteran filmmaker (among others, *Pesticides and Pills* and *Gods of Metal*, the latter an Oscar nominee this year), told me, “I foresee a diminution of the many voices that public TV is supposed to present to the public, regardless of the political coloration. Public TV has not shown that when it acts commercially it does anything better than the networks. They're running old movies and sports events! It was created to be an alternative.”

For a small and run-on-a-shoestring group, AIVF has had some impressive victories in keeping diversity on the airwaves, including successful lobbying for 1978 legislation requiring public TV to give “substantial” amounts of programming budget to independents. But independents and public interest representatives may, ironically, be less important to the continued health of public TV than representatives of commercial TV.

### Unlikely allies.

Commercial television types like public TV. The last thing ABC, NBC and CBS want is the possibility of a fourth commercial network competing with them. They're better off with a public system holding down those channels with a small audience, offering up the less-marketable stuff. And they have been as vigorous as have unions—which traditionally have given public TV a break from union regulations—in protesting the commercials experiment. (Unions say that if public TV is going to make money the way commercial stations do, it can pay union wages too.)

Further, some underwriters are unhappy with the new entrepreneurialism. The biggest ones, such as Exxon and Atlantic Richfield, depend on public TV's non-commercial image to make their contribution look classy. They don't relish being mixed in with Clairol spots. Gulf Oil is “adamantly opposed” to commercials on public TV, Gulf representative Tom Latimer explained to *Advertising Age*, “because PBS would end up as the fourth and least important commercial network.”

That prospect looks disconcertingly familiar to Ed Pfister, president of CPB, who also has criticized the advertising experiment. “Ultimately, advertising revenues will drive programming to the lowest common denominator in order to attract the largest audience,” he warned in December, before station managers urged him to pipe down until the experiment was completed in June. “So you have to measure the cost of that money. Under what circumstances is it worth it?”

Finally, PBS and CPB, both national organizations, cast a cold eye on the plans of some rugged-individualist stations like WTTW. WTTW's president William McCarter has publicly said that the station envisions cutting loose from the system to be subscriber supported and free of accountability to smaller stations and to taxpayers. WTTW would thus take the hefty public investment in building its facilities—the public has now invested more than \$3 billion in the system as a whole—into private business.

Public TV may survive, even in a period where you can read headlines like one that recently appeared in the *St. Petersburg Times*: “White House to Public Broadcasting: Drop Dead.” But in the scramble to find profitable ways to maintain a public system, the public's interest in it may become a casualty. ■

# CONTENTS





# LETTERS

*In These Times* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## TOO GRUDGING

I HAVE LONG RESPECTED AND LIKED Pat Aufderheide's work. Her review of *The Verdict*, for example, was a much needed blast. But her response to readers' *Gandhi* letters (ITT, March 23) is still wrong and still too grudging. As someone who produces for a mass media, I was prepared to be highly critical of *Gandhi* and of Attenborough.

The film, however, is a major achievement and not just because of Academy Awards. If a left filmmaker worked five years with money from dishwashing and the Film Fund to make a fairly decent documentary on non-violence shown just once on PBS, the left press would be filled with plaudits. *Gandhi* is, however, a world film event and has obviously stirred consciousness for the better on a number of continents. The recent Oscar speeches by Ben Kingsley and Sir Richard Attenborough can only add to this effect.

As a general rule, we on the left, I think, need to learn from and welcome commercial media producers who have introduced progressive ideas to a truly mass audience. I'll take *Gandhi*, *China Syndrome*, *Norma Rae*, *Nine to Five*, *Roots* and *Missing* and the rest any day over leaflets and quibbles about correct political perspectives. I hope Pat will look again at *Gandhi* and keep up her otherwise wonderful work.

—Robert K. Musil

Co-producer, *Consider the Alternatives*  
The SANE Education Fund  
Philadelphia, Pa.

## BORING...AND MORE

I ASSUME THAT PAT AUFDERHEIDE IS female. I saw *La Nuit de Varennes* and thought it not only poor but boring (ITT, April 20).

I should say that I subscribe to *In These Times* because of the coverage, not because I agree with you, specifi-

cally and particularly, on your coverage of women's issues.

Obviously Aufderheide is no feminist. In *La Nuit de Varennes*, (1) "the journalist and pornographer Restif de la Bretonne" performs sexual assault on his blood daughter, kissing her open mouthed while massaging her breasts; and (2) the revolutionaries of the countryside when the royalty-enamoured Countess (actually of "common" blood) attempts to escape do the usual male trip—attempt to grab her breasts, threaten her with rape, etc. She is rescued by Tom Paine. And anyway, who the hell is interested in Casanova, even played by Marcello Mastroianni?

What you socialists, male or female, don't get through your heads is that feminism is far more radical than socialism.

—Louise Thompson  
New York

## OOPA

I WAS PLEASED TO SEE YOUR POSITIVE coverage of my campaign for City Council ("Oakland vote tests left," ITT, April 13). At the same time, I would like to clarify your statement that I am a candidate of the Oakland Progressive Political Alliance (OPPA). It is certainly true that OPPA supports my candidacy and has worked on my campaign, but only as one of many forces in a broad-based campaign that includes the Niagara Movement Democratic Club, Montclair Greater Oakland Democratic Club, SEIU Locals 616 and 250 and numerous other organizations and churches in Oakland.

Also, I think it is important to point out the significant contribution to my campaign made by the Democratic Workers Party/Peace and Justice Organization. These organizations have provided my campaign manager, key members of my staff and enough organizers to canvass and get out the vote in 14 of 34 precincts.

Through the work of literally hundreds of people in this campaign, we were able to win on election day with 66 percent of the vote.

—Wilson Riles Jr.  
Oakland, Calif.

## MONOMANIA

I AM DISAPPOINTED THAT *IN THESE Times* considers the election of Harold Washington as "a victory for the left" (ITT, April 20). As a supporter of military aid to the Begin government of Israel, Washington has demonstrated that, despite left stances on a number of important issues, he holds an essentially rightist world view. As a member of the House of Representatives, he is well aware that American weapons have been used against civilian targets in Lebanon, are used as part of illegal and repressive military occupations, and are totally unnecessary for Israel's real defense needs.

Those of us who are trying to build left electoral coalitions must not ally with those who seek to undermine the efforts of our friends in the Israeli peace movement and their Palestinian counterparts by escalating the Middle East arms race. True friends of Israel are those who support mutual recognition of Israeli and Palestinian national rights, not those who support chauvinistic right-wing militarists on either side with still more armaments. Nor is it unrelated to urban politics: the \$2.4 billion of annual taxpayer subsidies to the Begin government mean that much less money for relieving urban blight. The left should support those who believe our tax dollars should go to rebuild America's cities, not destroy Lebanon's cities.

While Washington will likely be a far better mayor than any of his Democratic or Republican opponents, ITT's uncritical acclaim of his victory is inappropriate for those of us working for Middle East peace. Nor is it helpful for those of us seeking to build coalitions behind candidates that, unlike Harold Washington, really do believe in peace and social justice.

—Stephen Zunes  
Cambridge, Mass.

## STRANDED

JAMES WEINSTEIN (ITT, APRIL 6) RAISES some important issues concerning the historical relation between democratic socialists and Communists, and

generally he makes a good case. But he neglects to elaborate on the effects of the Eastern countries' special historical conditions and traditions. In particular, he fails to emphasize that these different conditions and traditions are the main reason why a different strand of the socialist tradition came to the fore in these countries.

I say a "different strand" because it is important to emphasize that Communists are not simply some of "us" caught within unfavorable circumstances that enforce upon them a nasty set of oppressive options. In an important sense, they are not "us," despite our common historical roots. The failures of Eastern societies are not merely the inevitable product of unfavorable historical circumstances. They are also the product of a struggle for a set of social goals that differ from the goals sought by democratic socialists.

The difference in conditions and traditions is important mainly for explaining why Communists won out over democratic socialists. After all, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries differed from the Bolsheviks, not in the historical circumstances they faced (which were the same), but in the shape of the alternative society they envisaged, as well as the means chosen to achieve it.

And yet, although Communist and democratic socialist aspirations are different, they share some features. Moreover, the societies that Communists have produced have some features relevant to democratic socialist aspirations—the elimination of unemployment and extreme poverty (for those not suffering political persecution), as well as the altered composition of production reflecting a greater emphasis on communal values. Many of us recognize such gains when they occur in places like Cuba (and to identify with them, albeit critically), especially if the standard of comparison is a right-wing autocracy. But I think we should recognize such gains wherever they occur, without fearing that we thereby give endorsement to any society that has achieved such gains.

A candid account of our shared origins, our partly akin yet substantially different aspirations, and the significantly different historical situations in which we have exercised (or hope to exercise) power, should prove the best answer to Americans wishing to know the relation between the socialism we espouse and the system that obtains in the lands of "actually existing socialism."

—Peter Mayers  
Oakland, Calif.

## In These Times lives

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1983 marks *In These Times'* emergence from its most difficult crisis. After six years of publication, and of mounting deficits, we very nearly went bottom-up in 1982. But 1982 in others ways was also our best year. What we lacked in dollars—and that was a lot—we made up in spirit and the commitment of our readers. You not only responded to our

appeals with five times the amount of money we had raised in any previous appeal, but you also must have talked up the paper, because our direct mail and other subscription campaigns brought in record numbers of new subscribers.

But this year is again a critical one for *In These Times*. If we can concentrate our efforts on improving the

scope and quality of our coverage and on increasing our circulation, we believe we can make a great leap forward in 1983. But if we fall into another financial crisis, we will miss our opportunity and the left will lose an important voice.

If you will help us make up our deficit without having to take emergency measures, we believe we can make a breakthrough. We hope that you will agree that breaking our vicious financial cycle is worthwhile. As in the past, our fate is largely in your hands.

In comparison to recent years, we're in pretty good shape. We have cut back our staff by three positions this year, but we don't think we've compromised our efficiency. And our operating income from circulation has been higher than previous first quarters—and above our projections. This year, too, for the first time since

1979, our projected operating deficit is less than \$300,000. We expect it will be less than \$280,000.

But \$280,000 is still a lot of money. And we must raise it all from you, our readers, because we have no corporations or large foundations to keep us going. In short, as always, we are living dangerously. As we've said before, our survival depends on your help.

We must now raise \$80,000. We need those of you who have contributed in the past to do so again. And we need those of you who have not contributed before to do so for the first time.

We're doing what we can to keep *In These Times* going and growing. Please do all you can to help.

Sincerely,

*James Weinstein*

James Weinstein  
Editor

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# DIALOG

## Is Colby fit for the freeze movement?

### Amnesia or whitewash?

**I**T IS PARTICULARLY DISHEARTENING and infuriating that John Judis chose to distort the role of the CIA and William Colby, especially in regard to the Vietnam war, in his response to the short-handed and emotion-laden criticism of Colby that appeared in the letter section (*ITT*, April 20). In arguing against labeling Colby a "war criminal," Judis downplays the extent of the deception, destruction and death that Colby and American policymakers perpetrated during the Vietnam era. To imply that there was no intention to torture, maim, murder and displace massive numbers of Vietnamese civilians is either an act of historical amnesia or a deliberate whitewash. In either case, it represents a sad state of affairs for left journalism.

While one can agree with Judis that the CIA was "the bastion of Cold War liberalism," that does not exempt the CIA from a closer scrutiny of how the contradictions of such "liberalism" were reflected in the actual policies of the CIA. To be on the left of the CIA in the late '40s and early '50s still meant that covert operations and interventionist schemes were standard operating procedure. The history of the CIA involvement in Italian trade unions and parliamentary politics demonstrates a consistent pattern of undermining the CGIL (the left-wing trade union) and the Communist Party while bribing and corrupting officials in the Christian Democratic Party. And the CIA's role in the Third World went way behind simple bribes and political machinations. In Iran and Guatemala during the '50s the CIA helped overthrow democratically elected governments that threatened to nationalize resources controlled by American corporations.

In Vietnam that policy led to an outright barbaric assault on the Vietnamese people and their neighbors in Laos and Cambodia. Perhaps Judis wants to consign the admittedly partisan work of the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal (where international lawyers presided) to the dustbin of history. Perhaps he wishes to write off Jean-Paul Sartre's essay on genocide in Southeast Asia, Barry Weisberg's anthology on *Ecocide in Indochina* and the numerous writings of Noam Chomsky on U.S. policy in Southeast Asia as knee-jerk leftist propaganda. If he wants to remain aloof from the taint of such political partisanship, let him at least admit into the historical record, as countless articles and books have made clear, that American policy in Southeast Asia was a planned effort at destroying the countryside and culture that supported the insurgent movements in the region.

And what of Colby's record in this deliberate war against indigenous populations? Victor Marchetti and John Marks in *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* point out the planned assassinations, kidnappings and torture that resulted from Colby's Operation Phoenix. Marchetti and Marks write: "According to Colby's own testimony in 1971 before a congressional committee, 20,587 suspected Vietcong were killed under Phoenix in the first two and a half years."

There is more than enough evidence to suggest that Colby qualifies as a war criminal under either the Geneva Convention or Nuremberg Principles. The murderous actions that he oversaw against a civilian population underscore the criminality of war. To hold up the evil standard of Nazi criminality is to obscure the

nature of the Vietnam war and the role of the policymakers in that war. The paradox and horror of the war was that more technological sophistication bred more indiscriminate violence. Those who planned and executed that war perpetuated crimes against humanity precisely because they reduced the humanity of Southeast Asia to an abstract nullity. (Thus, Colby's reified testimony that Operation Phoenix resulted in "neutralizing" thousands). Perhaps labeling Colby and others with direct responsibility for prosecuting the war as criminals is legally inexact. On the other hand, with jurisprudence lagging behind social reality, we are left with a political and moral responsibility to identify the nature of the war and the culpability of its prosecutors. From this perspective and the historical record, Colby is morally and politically culpable in ways that other cold war liberals are not.

As to whether Colby changed his tune after Vietnam, saw the errors of his way and can be welcomed with open arms into the opposition, there are other matters that Judis neglects or distorts that must be brought to the fore. Colby rationalized the executions after the coup in Chile before a congressional committee as doing "some good" since they diminished the possibilities, in Colby's way of thinking, of a civil war.

How Judis can contend that Colby opposes intervention in El Salvador after Colby's 1981 article in the *Washington Post* suggests using the 1968-72 period in Vietnam as a model for American response in El Salvador is beyond me. But then, it also escapes my narrow and self-righteous mind how John Judis can write about the CIA, the Vietnam war and Colby's role in both such a patronizing and obfuscatory manner.

Certainly there can be disagreements on the left about how to build a movement for social change. However, to distort history in order to enact superstar politics for the media can only serve to enervate such a movement.

—Francis Shor  
Detroit, Mich.

### Misguided

**I**AM DISHEARTENED TO SEE THE DECEITFUL and insidious new American mythology of Podhoretz, Kondracki and Co. penetrating John Judis' analysis of American war crimes. In his reply to Shor and Levinson (*ITT*, April 20) Judis appears to be flirting with the "naive American idealism gone wrong" obscurity that is slowly masking the American genocide committed in Vietnam.

It is incredible that mass chemical warfare, napalming of orphanages and hospitals and the endless, indiscriminate, relentless bombing of civilian targets could be conceived of as a misguided attempt, in Judis' words, to "maximize freedom."

The Vietnam war was fought for cynical shortsighted, venal and calculated foreign policy objectives. The men who are responsible for it should indeed have shared cells next to Hess at Spandau. Millions were slaughtered by this American demented imperial war.

The Vietnam war is the national shame of the American people that finally destroyed the myth that the U.S. operated as a force for "freedom" in the world. But unlike the Germans who at least recognized their national shame, some Americans celebrate the Vietnam dis-

grace, surround it with a mythology of idealism and continue to savage the globe. Even the cast does not change. Among many others, Thomas (the Butcher of Cambodia) Enders is now spreading torture, pacification and extermination policies in Central America. I can only wonder whether Judis will be writing 10 years from now that Reagan, Meese, Shultz and Enders were only trying to "maximize freedom" in Central America.

—Mark T. Kimbrell  
Arlington, Va.

### War criminal

**J**OHAN JUDIS PROPAGATES TWO SERIOUS errors in his response to criticisms of his acceptance of Vietnam war officials (*ITT*, April 20).

First, William Colby, as head of Operation Phoenix, clearly falls squarely within the definition of "war criminals." Contrary to Judis, the official war policy of the U.S. was directed against the civilian population of Indochina, in violation of the Nuremberg principles: viz, free fire zones, defoliation, resettlement, strategic hamlets, carpet bombing. Operation Phoenix, as openly reported by the mass media at the time, compiled computer listings of tens of thousands of Vietnamese, who were then assassinated (along with their families). The basis for such liquidation was any evidence of political or trade union activity. The architects of this policy have since spread its use to the Latin American military states.

Second, Judis has bought the "big lie" of the CIA's "liberal" character in the '40s and '50s. The head of Colby's branch, the Operations or dirty tricks division, throughout this period was Frank G. Wisner. Wisner was a pro-fascist paranoid and a close ally of Angleton. The CIA only assisted centrist groups as part of its assault on the left. Assistance to rightist and fascist elements in target societies was always present, and usually dominant.

Any left student of international law could have corrected Judis. Any serious student of the Indochina war would have pointed out his mischaracterization of the U.S. policy. Any progressive student of the CIA and its affiliates would have suggested that the agency's cover story requires not a few grains of salt.

—A.N. Kopke  
Concord, Calif.

### Cold War liberalism

**T**HE REALLY DISTURBING ASPECT of John Judis' reply to Fran Shor and David Levinson (*ITT*, April 20) is not his statement that "the CIA was the bastion of Cold War liberalism after World War II." That assertion is accurate. What is appalling is that Judis himself has virtually adopted Cold War liberalism. Perhaps it is time he found a better venue for these politics, which could be better elaborated in the *New Republic*.

Let's be clear: the issue in the Vietnam war had nothing to do with some balanced, nuanced debate over the relative "merits" of the Diem puppet government and the NLF. If some leftists were confused about the latter, that's too bad, but the issue in the war was the destruction of Vietnam by American imperialism. Reality was not "more complicated," as Judis argues, but as simple as could be.

When you begin turning possibly valid analytical distinctions such as "Colby was easily on the left of the CIA" into political apologies for such people, and urging that because they were the "left" wing of the mass murderers of the Vietnamese people they should not be welcomed into the disarmament movement, you have crossed the line that separates political debate from betrayal.

I do not exclude as a theoretical possibility that "left," or even right CIA agents and imperialist war criminals and politicians might change and become

peace activists. We would all be the poorer without, for example, Phil Agee. The point is that Judis is rapidly going in the opposite direction.

—David M. Finkel  
Highland Park, Mich.

### John B. Judis replies

**I** FEARED THAT I WAS GETTING INTO deep water when I attempted to meet head-on the argument that because William Colby was a war criminal, he should not be allowed to speak for the nuclear freeze movement. The spate of letters dwelling on only one point of my response—namely, the question of whether Colby was, indeed, a war criminal—have confirmed my fears. So let me try to start from shore again by means of an acknowledgement. Being ill-educated in international law, I simply do not know whether if an internationally recognized tribunal was held after the Vietnam war, Colby would have been convicted and sentenced as a war criminal. And I would not condone Colby's actions regardless of the tribunal's final outcome.

As far as Colby's participation in the freeze is concerned, however, I am afraid that the relevant point is that such a tribunal was *not* held and that the vast majority of Americans do not presently accept the application of the term "war criminal" to the progenitors of the Vietnam war. Indeed, if the assumptions of American politics were set by those who abided by the findings of the Russell Tribunal or Sartre's analysis of genocide, there would be no need for a nuclear freeze movement, and we might presently be debating whether the CIA's headquarters should be converted into public housing or a school for the handicapped.

The American left, and those of us who participated in the movement against the Vietnam war, must accept with some thanks those historical lessons that have sunk in and proceed from there. Presently on the agenda is not the final dismantlement of the entire post-World War II American foreign policy and atonement for the sins thereof, but a challenge to one important part of it—the nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union. If the likes of Colby can be made to serve that end effectively, he should be used wholeheartedly by the leaders of the freeze movement. And in so far as Colby does still command considerable respect from certain people, he can be so used.

I suppose I was guilty of some intemperance in my reply to movie-buff Shor. But if Shor and my other critics feel a raging hostility toward my moral backwardness, I am somewhat put off by what I suspect is a tendency on their part to flaunt their past militance against the Vietnam war. At least one political generation is already past, and with each new generation there is a sense in which left politics must begin anew, with different language and different issues, albeit with similar long-term goals. A failure to adapt will lead to the left's extinction.

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# PERSPECTIVES

## Argentina looks for a way out

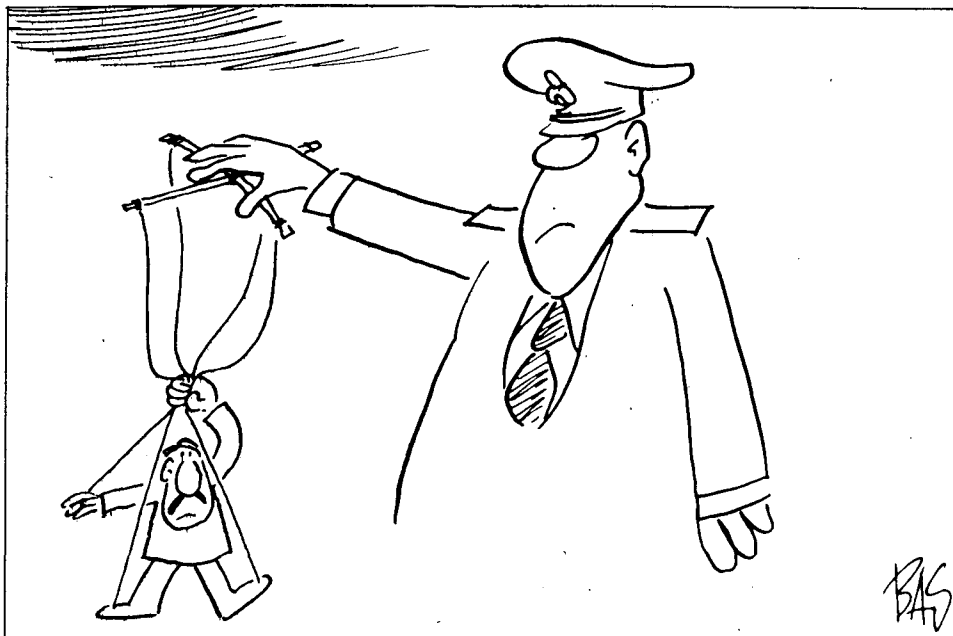
By Eldon Kenworthy

**T**HE MILITARY IN ARGENTINA is in trouble. Divided internally and repudiated collectively, the officers are now searching for the traditional *salida* (way out) by which power—and the mess the country is in—can be returned to civilian politicians.

*Salidas* acceptable to both parties usually are not hard to find, since politicians are as anxious to take office as the officers are to relinquish it. Never before, however, have the military's hands been so stained with the blood of Argentines. Thus, what is holding up the *salida* this time is the difficult-to-bridge gap between the officers' desire for amnesty and the public's insistence on justice. Elections scheduled for October ride on resolving this dilemma.

The military's most recent trial balloon was the claim that military officials were merely carrying out laws passed when Isabel Peron was president. Carrying out the orders of a regime they deposed? It doesn't wash.

Months before Isabel Peron was overthrown, military intelligence units were operating on military authority alone. The accepted total of the number of people who "disappeared" prior to the coup that toppled Peron is 1,500. According to reliable estimates, at least five times that number "were disappeared" (that's how the Spanish must be translated) in the



years following the military takeover. On taking power, several officers publicly stated that their mission was to rid Argentina once and for all not only of "subversives," but also of "their collaborators, sympathizers, then the indifferent and, finally, the timid" (General Iberico Manuel Saint-Jean).

From afar, it is hard to see how Argentina can proceed without bringing the officers who are most responsible for the murders to trial. But such a step runs counter to the military's instinct to present a solid front—an instinct born of the deep divisions separating younger officers from older ones, and one service from another. Whatever solution emerges

will be painful and incomplete (perhaps trials in military courts). Any attempts by the Reagan administration to intercede would likely backfire.

In fact, the Reagan administration has its own work cut out. When Reagan took office, ranking U.S. officials visited the junta in Buenos Aires while senior Argentine officers came to Washington. This was part of a plan to "multilateralize the Monroe Doctrine" by involving the Argentine military in surreptitious training of the emigres who have attacked Nicaragua. In the process, Washington lost credibility with civilian opposition groups inside Argentina.

Despite Reagan administration claims about its "quiet diplomacy" on behalf of human rights, throughout the southern cone the U.S. is perceived to be content with military rule as long as the Argentine generals clean up their act a bit. Washington's tilt toward London in the Falklands war soured relations with the military junta without improving its standing with the opposition.

Given the crisis in Argentina, elections probably will yield a center regime—led by Peronists, or possibly Radicals—that will have neither the inclination nor the resources to attempt controversial, fresh departures. But over time, Argentines must address not only the failure of mili-

tary rule *per se*, but also their inability to make an economic policy oriented toward foreign investment and trade work for them. All of the countries of the southern cone face a similar need to reassess economic strategies that in the past decade drew them close to U.S. corporations, banks and government, since these nations find themselves deeply in debt, with double-digit unemployment, triple-digit inflation and plunging GNPs. Thus, one anticipates a recasting of priorities that will confound U.S. officials—most likely a return to the more nationalistic and redistributive policies that so alarmed a Republican administration confronting the Allende regime in Chile.

While waiting for this second shoe to drop, however, the Reagan administration should absorb the lessons of aligning the U.S. with the southern cone militaries. Attracting the White House to such an alliance are the officers' anti-Communist and pro-free enterprise positions. Where iron fists have a free hand, the Reagan administration doesn't need to worry about Marxist influences in Latin America, at least not in the short run.

But what about the long run? Trained and often employed in isolation from civilians, southern cone officers are prone to fixed ideas and grandiose fantasies. The methods they instinctively turn to only compound the crises they seek to resolve; thus as rulers they are vulnerable to economic and diplomatic reverses.

One such method is to seek unity through a patriotism fed by border disputes and scapegoating. Another is the attempt to achieve consensus by exclusion. In their rush to hasten their country's "development," officers reach for the tools of their trade: command rather than negotiation, war rather than peace. The world is too unpredictable and the peoples of these countries too political for this approach to work for long.

The past quarter-century of Argentina politics can be summarized as the military's attempt to silence the left and split the Peronists, in hopes of confining politics to that spectrum of parties it finds acceptable—and the repeated failure of these attempts despite the escalating violence used to impose them. Under military rule, a vicious crusade against "subversives" and their sympathizers has been interspersed with border disputes with the Chileans and an ill-fated war with Britain, which cost the Argentines 712 lives. Argentina will never achieve a working consensus by these methods, since the humiliations and divisions they engender outlast whatever ephemeral victories are achieved. In short, the military "solution" only exacerbates the problem. ■ Eldon Kenworthy teaches Latin American politics at Cornell University.

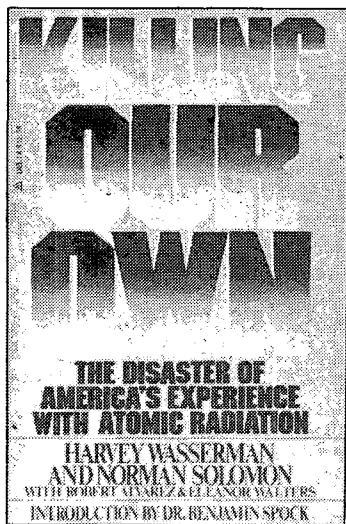
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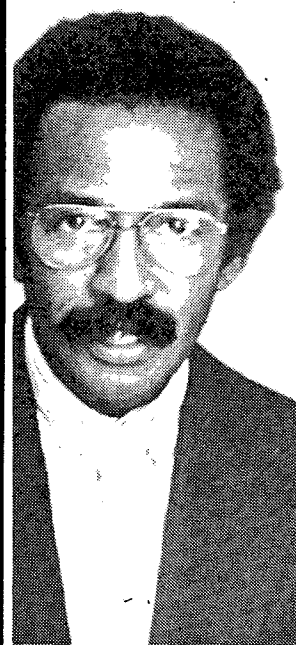


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By John Mack Faragher

Cowboys and frontiersmen have been the subject of popular and scholarly writing for decades, but during the past five years we have been treated to a stampede of new works on the women of the West. Actually, there has long been interest in the role frontier life may have played in liberating women from strict sex-role conventions. And these three important books help us to focus again on that question.

In the 1920s, Lila Day Monroe, a woman who had actively taken part in the struggle for women's rights and suffrage in Kansas, collected more than 800 personal memoirs of women's lives during the state's frontier period. Important groups of frontier women did not testify for her collection: no Indians, no blacks, no Catholics. Despite this the collection was still a remarkable set of documents, yet lay forgotten until Monroe's great-granddaughter, Joanna Stratton, rediscovered it in the '70s. Utilizing some 120 of the memoirs, Stratton presents a chorus of very different voices in *Pioneer Women: Voices from the Kansas Frontier*.

These pioneer women agreed that the hardships of the frontier promoted hardiness and resilience. "Kansas women of that day," one remembered, "learned at an early age to depend upon themselves—to do whatever work had to be done and to face danger when it must be faced, as calmly as they were able." Women played an essential role in farm work, not only cooking, cleaning and caring for children, but planting, harvesting, tending livestock, hauling water and fuel. In an age when Eastern women were trading the role of primary producer for that of consumer, Western women were still carding, spinning and weaving, practicing herbal pharmacy and midwifery.

#### No "women's sphere."

For her similar study, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience*, Sandra Myres examined more than 400 collections of women's documents—letters, diaries, reminiscences, even interviews conducted by the Federal Writers Project. She summarizes her extensive reading in topical chapters ranging from wom-

en's views of the land, to women's work, to the Western women's movement. Her coverage is broad, and also includes the best available reading list of recent writing on Western women, but again we hear little or nothing from immigrant or non-white women, a serious omission in a book that claims to survey the whole frontier experience.

Women's economic importance in the West, Myres argues, meant that their marriages were more likely to be cooperative economic enterprises than those of Eastern couples. "Western migration and frontier conditions seriously threatened to undermine [the] carefully constructed separation of the sexes," by demanding productive work of women as well as men in a household economy. The Victorian domestic ideal of a "woman's sphere" separate from breadwin-

ning just wouldn't wash on family farms and ranches. For the same reasons, Stratton claims that "women found themselves on a far more equal footing with their spouses" than did their sisters in the East.

Both historians argue that equality at home translated into a struggle for wider opportunity in the world. Stratton asserts that "women regularly served as postmistresses and mail clerks" in frontier towns, and that "in many towns women assisted with the weekly publications." Myres sees Western women violating and overturning the Eastern norm of non-participation in public life.

But Stratton and Myres both fail to provide any sustained or convincing evidence on this important point. Myres, in fact, admits that the Western woman's movement was extremely weak. The most important challenges to the patriarchal order did not seem to come from rural or Western women, but from urban women wage-workers and the urban women's movement.

#### Cowgirls tell all.

Teresa Jordan's fascinating oral history of modern Western women adds an important dimension here. During the late '70s she traveled the West, interviewing nearly 100 women who define themselves as "cowgirls": women who work as active partners with their husbands, as ranchers

in their own right, as hired hands or as rodeo riders. Nearly all of them chose "outside" work as young girls.

"I was lucky I didn't have to do much in the house when I was a kid," says Nickie Taylor, who ranches with her husband near Kaycee, Wyo. "Oh, how I hated that! To this day, I hate to stay in the house. 'House' is a dirty word to me."

Pearl Mason, a champion bronc rider in the 1920s, remembers her mother as "a slave." "All women were then," she says. "The Negroes and the Mexicans talk about being slaves. But I'll tell you who the real slaves were in those days—they were the women."

These women continue to reject domesticity. "I guess I have been an independent woman," says Barbara Davis of North Park, Colo. "My mother always said so." But, she continues, "I'd rather my husband be the head of the house, take the lead."

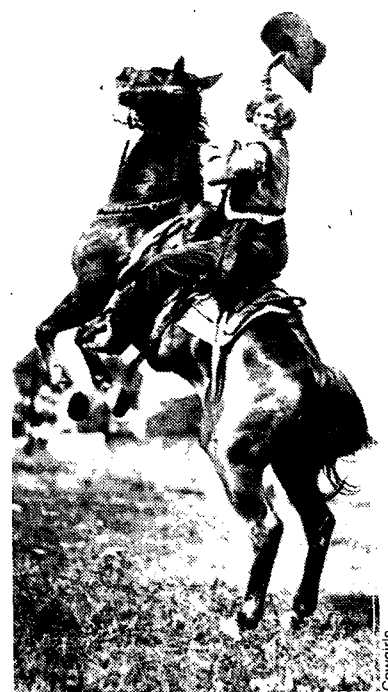
"You hear all this talk about your liberated woman," rancher Carol Horn told Jordan, "but I find real comfort in being a little bit sheltered by my man.... I know I'm important and I have influence, [but] I'm a little Western, and I like to see the man hold the reins. But a woman has to be able to take them in a runaway. There is so much responsibility to a ranch, and I think a woman has to be keenly in the harness with her husband to make it successful. They work together. I'm not the head of the family. I'm just the helpmate."

This notion of women as "helpmates" has long been a rural tradition, but one with little implication of sexual equality. The question of status is not primarily a question of what people do, but of the recognition they receive for what they do and the authority that this confers. As Elizabeth Ellet, a 19th-century historian of Western women wrote of one pioneer, "She had the appearance and used the language of independence, haughtiness and authority, yet it could be said of her without any question that she revered her husband."

Jordan's interviews suggest that there is no inevitable connection between strong wills, economic importance, the rejection of domesticity and the feminist struggle for equality. Nearly all these women reject "women's lib," which they see as a power struggle between men and women, in favor of economic partnerships in which their men play the leading roles.



On the other hand, the women's movement has made some ranch women sensitive to the need for a reform of inheritance and ownership laws. Tootie Bocker, who ranches near North Park, Colo., told Jordan that after she watched her mother-in-law lose her ranch to the lawyers and bankers after being widowed, she knew that her own marriage partnership



had to be recognized legally. "Everything we do is half and half. I can do anything on the ranch, and so can Gordon, [so] I am half owner of this—not because I'm married to him, but because I invested in it. Anything that is signed or anything that's done has to be both of us."

Ike Fordyce, one of the few men who speak in the book, points out that more and more the daughters of ranch families are turning to outdoor work. "Now we've got a situation where ranches are of necessity quite large and they've become mechanized to a certain extent. Labor, if you can get it at all, is very expensive. And the women do have conveniences—refrigerators and mixers and microwave ovens—that are a tremendous help. It's now possible for a woman to get out, and she's needed much more than she ever has been. ...The girls are excellent hands—I would put them up against any cowboys I know." This situation makes it likely that the next generation of cowgirls will be much more favorably inclined toward women's rights.

#### Rodeo women.

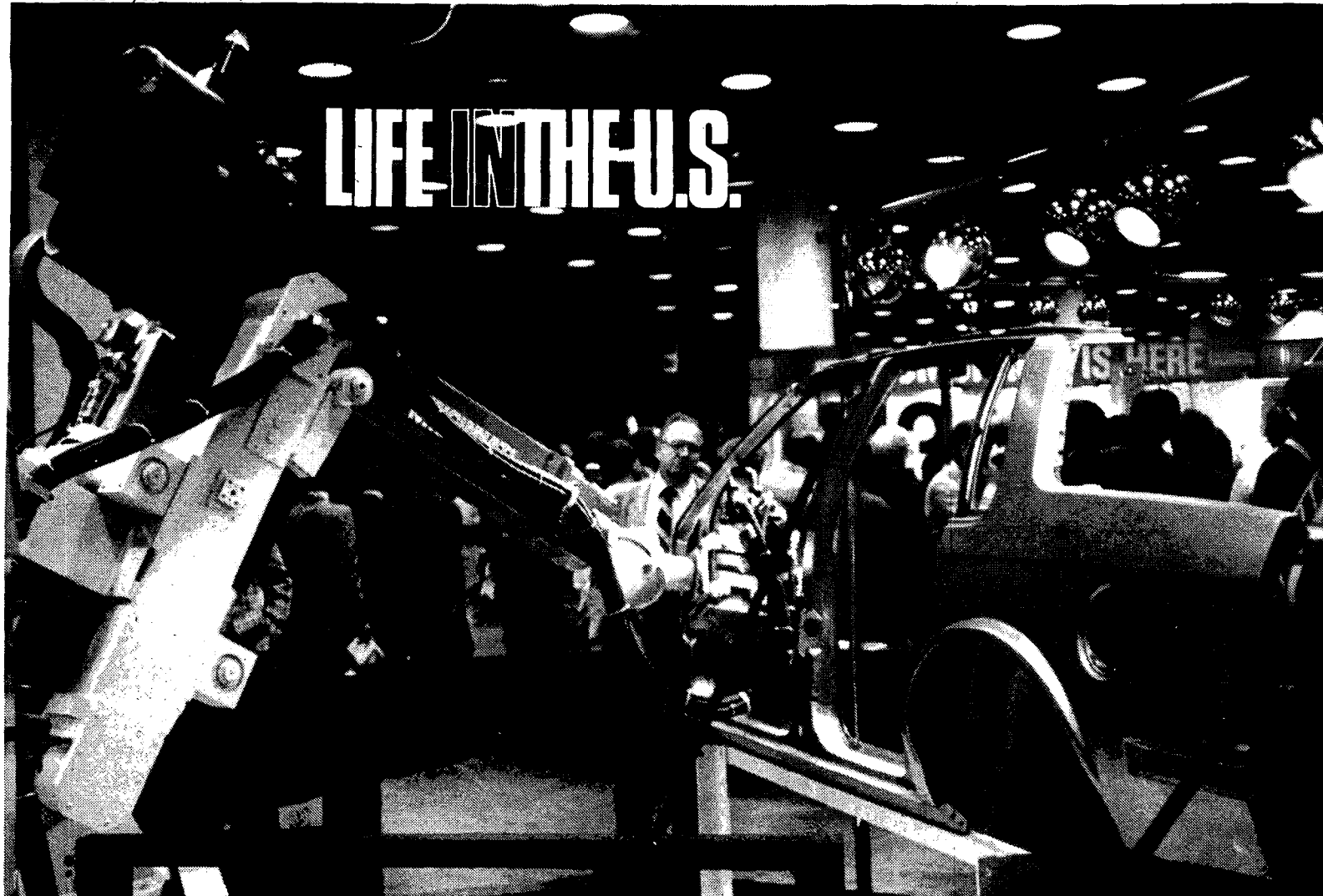
Perhaps Jordan's most fascinating interviews are those with past and present rodeo stars. From its beginnings the rodeo prominently featured women who could out-ride, out-rope and out-shoot most cowboys, but who were still as good-looking as chorus girls. Rodeo cowgirls promoted a new standard of active, simple beauty. Alice Greenough, a star of the '30s, wrote that "a cowgirl would no more think of wearing spike heels, a tight girdle, a binding brassiere, than she would drink poison. It is not that a cowgirl does not want to attract the masculine eyes, but we know cowboys. They like slimness, line, grace—but they want it natural."

Rodeo women today are a "new breed": professional athletes, deadly serious about competition within the Women's Professional Rodeo Association for honors and big prize money. But like their male counterparts, they include a liberal sprinkling of hard-drinking, hard-living cowpokes who live out of their pickups and campers, following the rodeo from one county fair to another. Jordan wants these women—who "ride bulls, broncs, cows, steers and anything with hair"—and their tales, and their tall tales, to become a part of Western lore alongside men's deeds.

Jack Mack Faragher is the author of *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* and teaches at Mount Holyoke College.







## ROBOTICS

# High-tech fair peeks at future

By Gary Fields

"Robotics: The Emerging Challenge," was the theme of the 13th International Exposition on industrial robotics held at Chicago's McCormick Place last month. Sponsored by two industry groups—the Robot Institute of America and the Robotics International Society of Manufacturing Engineers—the exposition featured demonstrations of the latest industrial robot equipment by manufacturers from the U.S., Japan and Europe.

The "challenge" as posed by exposition sponsors, refers to the industry managers' belief that the key to economic recovery in the U.S. hinges on American industry becoming more productive and thus more competitive.

This challenge, as noted by Harry Braverman in *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, is not a new one. It has been posed by management in virtually identical fashion every time the system has been afflicted with its cyclical downturns. Historically management has responded to this need to compete and accumulate capital by restructuring the labor process. During the late 19th century this restructuring was accomplished through "scientific management" associated with Frederick Taylor. "Taylorism," as it was called, referred to greater intensification of control over the laborer and the work process.

At the beginning of the 20th century, transformation in the labor process occurred as a result of a systematic integration of science and technology to production. The automobile assembly line and the advent of numerical-control machine tools are the two most significant breakthroughs in this area.

There were dire consequences for the worker, however, as in-

dustrial became more productive through such technological innovation. Braverman termed this process "The Degradation of Work in the 20th Century."

Robotics promises to be the next important technological breakthrough for industrial productivity. Robots now in operation yield productivity increases ranging from 20 to 300 percent depending upon the particular function performed.

Robot manufacturers, however, claim that American industry has seriously lagged behind the Japanese in installing the new technology that originated in the U.S. About 14,000 robots are operating in Japan while only 6,800 have been installed in American industry.

Nevertheless, robot manufacturers now seem confident that American industry will rise to the challenge. Sponsors of the exposition project that by 1990, 100,000 new robots will be installed in American companies—a staggering increase that has potentially explosive implications for employment. *Omni* maga-

zine, in their recent special issue on robotics, estimates that 50,000 additional auto workers will lose their jobs in the next 10 years due to the new implementation of robots.

Indeed, if Braverman had attended the exposition he might have amended the subtitle to his book to "The elimination of workers in the 20th century."

The Chicago exposition brought together more than 180 manufacturers of industrial robots. Firms such as IBM, General Electric, Westinghouse/Unimation and Cincinnati Millicron had huge displays sporting many different robots in their respective production lines. The display areas provided a constant dazzling spectacle for observers, most of whom were production managers of companies interested in automating their operation with the new robotic technology.

Also on hand were celebrities of the robotics industry such as Joseph Engelberger, who is credited with inventing the industrial robot in 1961 and starting the first and largest robotics company—Unimation, now a subsidiary of Westinghouse.

The robots on display performed a wide variety of industrial functions and provided spectators with a glimpse of how industrial work processes will be transformed in the upcoming years. Walking into the exhibition hall and hearing the constant hum of the robots at work was

like listening to the industrial symphony of the future and seeing the imagery of a new industrial age.

The basic categories of the functions performed by robots include welding, materials handling, painting and finishing, assembly and machine part production. Some of the highlights of the exposition included:

- A Cincinnati Millicron robot that moved material at a rate of 200 feet per second.

- An IBM robot that checked 8,000 wire connections in five hours—a job normally requiring 100 hours.

- A Unimation robot that was able to distinguish nine different materials by size and color and stack them on pallets by category.

On the lighter side, General Electric had a robot that dealt hands of blackjack and identified the numbers on the cards while Unimation displayed a robot performing a haircut on a mannequin.

The industrial robot is thus perfectly suited to perform repetitive tasks normally associated with the assembly lines. The attraction for employers is that the robot will not take coffee breaks or lunch breaks, will perform more consistently and will not require the health and safety standards that workers need. All this spells labor cost reductions for management. The worker is thus "freed" from this arduous labor.

What happens to these workers, however, was not the con-

**Both skilled and unskilled workers may lose their jobs to robots.**

cern of the robot exhibitors. Their message in conversations with me was quite candid: the needs of American industry to compete by raising productivity must take precedence over any possible dislocating side effects.

Timothy Heile of Cincinnati Millicron explained that the need today was for "flexible management systems." This is a system envisioned by industry management where only a few workers would be needed to set up the work for the robots in the morning shift. "After the first shift, all work could be performed automatically on second and third shifts by robot laborers," said Heile.

If such images appear threatening to unskilled and semi-skilled industrial workers, what about the situation for skilled machinists?

If the exposition is any indication, skilled machinists also have ample reason to fear the loss of their jobs through the new robotic technology. Lathes, traditionally the tool mastered by all machinists, were also featured at the exposition. The most impressive lathe was exhibited by the SMT Machine Co. In addition to loading and unloading pieces from the chuck, this numerical control robotic lathe automatically compensated for worn tool bits and changed them when required. The machine also had an automatic laser inspection device to check for part tolerance and a conveyor system for the internal robot arms to deposit the finished part. Such a machine could easily dispense with the services of six different workers. "Lathe operation is typically learned on the shop floor," said SMT engineer Clifford Sterling. "Now lathes can be learned in school."

Industrial robots hold the promise of relieving industrial workers of the many routine and even dangerous tasks they perform. It represents a further advance in human mastery over production and thus an increase in human potential to overcome need.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that if workers do not have control over this technology they will end up victimized by it. The real question does not concern the technology *per se* but rather the structure of control over this technology. Indeed, the exposition suggested that a world where workers are "freed" by machines is technically possible. This possibility can only become a reality, however, if the workers themselves take control of the technology.

**Gary Fields, a member of the steelworkers' union, is a laid-off machinist.**

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685-3120. P.O. Box 924 Cooper Sta., NYC, NY 10276.

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### ATLANTA, G A

#### May 28-29

"Economics, Peace and Laughter"—Economic and Cultural themes in the movement for Peace and Justice. The Third Annual Southern Socialist Conference. Speakers will include: Manning Marable, Barbara Ehrenreich, and Stanley Aronowitz, and others. Registration is \$12, or \$5 low income/student. Sponsored by Democratic Socialists of America. Replies to Atlanta DSA, P.O. Box 89036, Atlanta, GA 30312. Accommodations

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### NASHVILLE, T N

#### June 3-4

"Arms Race vs. Human Needs: A National Conference on Jobs, Peace and Freedom." Workshops and plenary sessions on U.S. militarism in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean; Jobs with Peace and Freeze campaign assessments; peace movement and the Left; Racism and the arms race; Third World women and disarmament. Speakers include: Cornel West, Jean Sindab, Herbert Hill, Tony Mazzocchi, Hulbert James, Bertram Gross, Bell Hooks, Anne Braden. Registration \$10. Low cost housing available. Contact: Manning Marable, Director, Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, TN 37203. (615) 329-8578/8577.



# Egypt

Continued from page 16

them. In September 1981, Sadat used the Emergency Laws to arrest as many as 10,000 opponents, ranging from Muslim fundamentalists and hardline Communists to many social democratic leaders of the SLP. The party newspaper *Al-Sha'ab* was closed, along with all other opposition papers. Under Mubarak, all political prisoners have been freed, with the exception of the Muslim fundamentalists now on trial for the uprising in the city of Asyut after the assassination of Sadat.

Despite the socialist orientation of his party, Shoukri states, "We are not against the open door" (Egypt's economic reorientation away from the Soviet Union and toward Western capitalism carried out under Sadat). "Nevertheless," he says, "considerable abuses oc-

curred under the open door that had bad results for our economy and created a greater gap than before between rich and poor."

To cope with Egypt's worsening economic situation, Dr. Mustapa Said, Egypt's minister of economics, has unveiled a new economic strategy that retains the open door policy while seeking to ensure that the benefits are spread more evenly among Egypt's population. On the success of these new policies may ride the political future of President Mubarak.

According to Said, the open door economic policy succeeded in achieving many positive results, including greatly increasing foreign investment in Egypt's once moribund economy, building the country's foreign exchange earnings, and helping Egypt to achieve a high annual rate of growth. The fly in the ointment was that the rapid growth was based almost entirely on commerce and services, while agriculture and industry grew hardly at all. He explains that there is a new

push on the part of the government to facilitate investment in these areas.

While continuing to encourage Arab and Western investment in Egypt, Said says, "We are stressing the 'social dimension' of investment. Instead of being captivated by investment that increases the wealth and ease of only a few, as too often happened in the past, we want and need investment that creates job opportunities and greater production. We must remember that the survival of the private sector is dependent on social stability. In deciding what to produce and where to invest, our first priority will always be in meeting the basic needs of our people."

Said claims to be "quite confident that with our new policies in place we can ensure that the Egyptian economy will continue to grow at a healthy rate, even in the midst of a world recession."

Perhaps. But after bidding farewell to Dr. Said in the Nile Hilton and heading out across Tahrir (Independence) Square, I was immediately assaulted by the noise, wild traffic, dirt and sheer squalor of

Cairo. An absurd thought passed through my mind: "Is this the same country that Said has been describing?"

And yet, I left Egypt with a sense that there is still a feeling of modest hope among the Egyptian masses that life will get a little better, and it is this fragile sense of hope that keeps the government afloat and prevents the country from erupting in revolutionary violence. Ibrahim Shoukri, who has been struggling for democratic socialism in Egypt since being elected to Parliament in 1946, sizes up the mood this way: "The Egyptian people will put up with a great deal of adversity and hardship without complaining as long as they feel the country is in good hands.... If the government has nothing to show, then the people's patience can run out very quickly and dramatically. We are all praying that God will be with Mubarak in the years ahead, so that he will be able to sustain the belief of the people in a brighter tomorrow."

Walter Ruby, a New York writer, recently returned from four months in the Mideast.

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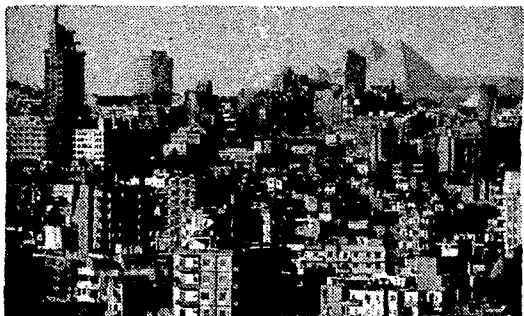
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## Life on the

By Walter Ruby

he term "Malthusian nightmare" could have been invented expressly for Cairo, which sprawls from the banks of the Nile far out into the surrounding desert. The city teems with awesome vitality, ringing with the constant clamor of thousands of automobile horns, their drivers beeping in frustration at being trapped in enormous traffic jams. In the midst of the traffic are crowded buses and trams, overloaded with people—some hanging out of windows or even clambering onto the roof. The auto fumes mix with the blowing

sand from the surrounding desert to create a permanent thick brown fog over the city that has the feel of Los Angeles on its worst days.

"No one knows anymore how many people there are in Cairo—13 million last week and 14 million today," said Egyptian journalist Anis Mansour. "The rural masses continue to pour into the city in search of a better life, and there is little the government can do." He paused and added with a rueful smile, "Many Egyptians who remember the beautiful, slower paced Cairo say that the city has become a catastrophe—completely unlivable. And yet even these people will tell you in the next breath that they cannot imagine living anywhere else; that no

place in the world has the excitement and vitality of Cairo."

As far as the eye can see in Cairo's slums are tiny mud huts standing alongside open sewage ditches. Small children, clad in filthy rags, claw at the visitor with cries of "Baksheesh, Baksheesh." In the distance, behind a huge medieval mosque with soaring minarets, one can see the "City of the Dead," the giant Muslim cemetery that is home to hundreds of thousands of living people.

Dr. Fatheya El-Marsafawi, a former pediatrician who has been director of Family Planning in Egypt since 1973, sees some hopeful signs that her agency's energetic campaign to promote birth control is beginning to have a measurable effect. Unofficial figures show the birthrate for 1981 at 35.7 per thousand compared to 40.7 per thousand in 1978. Dr. Marsafawi's agency has trained several thousand family planning workers who now serve in government clinics in nearly all of the country's villages and urban areas. But the family planning program still faces adamant opposition from religious leaders in the provinces and is still up against the longstanding desire of the fellahin (peasants) to have large families. A disconcerting facet of Egyptian life, obvious to even the most casual observer, is the enormous gap between rich and poor, and the ostentatious, almost defiant display of wealth by those who have it. "During the time of Nasser, the rich were careful not to advertise themselves, to show a certain discretion," said Mahmoud, a Cairo University veterinary student. "But since the coming of Sadat, all restraints have come off, and the rich have been making up for lost time ever since."

The best place to watch Egyptian society is in the lobby of the posh Nile Hilton. After a day spent confronting the ghastly poverty of the Cairo slums, it is bizarre to sit in the hotel's lobby and watch the rich alighting from their chauffeur-driven Cadillacs and Mercedes-Benz for an evening in the hotel casino—the men in fashionable Western dress, and the women wrapped in expensive furs.

The most dissatisfied people in Egypt today do not seem to be the poor, however, but rather the intelligentsia—especially those now in the university or recently graduated. Mahmoud, the son of a doctor, who has been studying for six years to become a veterinarian, is typical of this group. "After all my years of

study, if I were to take a position as a government doctor, I will be paid about \$50 a month," he says bitterly. "Honest civil servants are paid next to nothing, while corruption continues on a massive scale. Look at the case of Sadat's brother, Esmet. He stole literally hundreds of millions of dollars, and no one said a word until after the president was killed."

Mahmoud does not believe that the trial of Esmet Sadat acted as a deterrent to high level thievery. "They are simply making a scapegoat of one man, but the same group of crooks who prospered under Sadat continue to run things under Mubarak."

Mahmoud says that he and many other young intellectuals believe that the only hope for Egypt lies in an Islamic revival. "When Khomeini returned to Iran, 100,000 people came to the airport to greet him and carry him on their shoulders, because he represented an ideal of Islamic purity that had been lost. We need that kind of leadership here to lift us out of the swamp of corruption." Mahmoud conceded, however, that "they may have become a bit too extreme in Iran" and added, "In any case, an Islamic revolution like Iran's is probably impossible in Egypt. Our people are too kind and placid. They get angry for two or three days, and then they calm down and forget about it."

Like other young middle-class Egyptians I spoke to, Mahmoud pins his personal hopes on emigration. "I am certain that I can get a job in Holland, but obtaining a visa to leave Egypt is very difficult. My father is pulling all possible strings to help me get out."

Another unhappy group in Egypt today are the Coptic Christians, who comprise nearly 15 percent of Egypt's population. The Copts say that they are "the true Egyptians"—the direct descendants of the Pharaohs, who were overwhelmed by the Arabs at the time of the Muslim conquest several years after the death of Muhammed. The Copts today have a large middle class, and are far better educated and more Westernized than the Islamic masses. Their upward mobility is bitterly resented by many Muslims, and several Copts told *In These Times* that anti-Coptic discrimination, which was intense during Nasser's time but lessened somewhat under Sadat, has become bad again under Hosni Mubarak.

Ibrahim Shoukri, leader of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP), the main opposition party in Parliament, believes that the first priority of the Mubarak government "should be to abolish the many laws still on the books that prevent the blossoming of a true democracy in this country." Worst of all, he says, are the Emergency Laws that were imposed by Sadat during his crackdown on the opposition one month before his death, and extended by Mubarak in September 1982. The decrees forbid the gathering of five or more people in one place without official permission, forbid the distribution of leaflets against government policies and allow the government to detain political suspects for up to two months before charging.

Continued on page 15

Cairo is a city of  
extremes:

dire problems  
and

official  
optimism.